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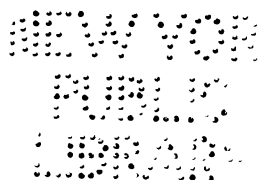


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JOHN WESLEY,
AND THE PRINCIPLES DEVELOPED IN HIS CAREER.

BY THE REV. O. T. DOBBIN, LL.D., Trin. College, Dublin. .

The Life of Wesley ; and Rise and Progress of Methodism. By Robert Southey, Esq., LL.D. Third Edition. With Notes by the late Samuel Taylor Coleridge, Esq. And Remarks on the Life and Character of John Wesley, by the late Alexander Knox, Esq. Edited by the Rev. Charles Cuthbert Southey, M.A., curate of Cockermouth. In Two Volumes. London. Longmans. 1846.

THE length of time which has elapsed since the death of the founder of Methodism, together with the unusually full details of his personal history we possess, and a century's experience of the working of his system, put us in a fairer position than those who lived at an earlier period to pass an equitable judgment upon the merits of that extraordinary man. This opening remark is a key-note to the strain of the observations that will follow upon John Wesley. We are not blind to his faults, but even these will be found to have sprung from the sincerity, openness, and native simplicity of his character. Southey evidently did not understand him, although not wanting in a due share of admiration for the subject of his memoir ; while in all those qualities which make the expert craftsman he claims an eminence exclusively his own. Neither Hampson nor Whitehead, nor Coke and More, nor

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Watson

Watson himself, the rival and castigator of the more recent biographer, have produced anything comparable for enchaining interest to the work of the late accomplished Laureate. It stands alone, a life by which Wesley will be known to a wider extent and a more distant day than by any besides. Sectarian sensitiveness may be ruffled at the defectiveness of the representation; yet we know not where, out of the circle of the Wesleyan body, the choice of a biographer could have more happily fallen than on Robert Southey. His Wesley has all the essentials of a good life. It is full and genial; brings out the best points with consummate skill, and cannot fail to leave the impression upon the mind of every unbiassed reader that a general appreciation of the great English Reformer animated his task, and shed a tolerably friendly hue over his delineation.

We regret that we cannot extend our encomium to the notes of Coleridge, more damaging certainly to their author from their coarsely and studiously depreciating strain than to Wesley. Familiar as we are with the incidents of a career that was notorious for unmanfully shirking all life's 'purposes sublime,' and for wasting in inglorious inaction the extraordinary powers with which he was endowed, we confess that nevertheless we never contemplated anything he has done or left undone with such pain as these discreditable annotations. Coleridge is the last man from whom the public will tolerate the censure of a life spent in self-denying labour and devotion to the cause of the poor, to which England, humanity, and religion, are so greatly indebted.

We own that we are desirous to give Wesley the benefit of a fresh review of his career. We think there is one way of doing him justice, in which we have not been preceded by any critic. We would fain examine the philosophy of his history on his own principles, sum up the results, and thus take the measure of the man. There are salient points, as we conceive, in his belief, motives, publications, and actions, looming out from the general tenor of his course, on which it were well to take our stand for awhile, as affording an advantageous survey of the whole. Could we hope to carry our readers with us in our selection of these, we might promise ourselves something like a general agreement in our conclusions. We should be sanguine, however, beyond all warrant of history and precedent, did we anticipate an issue in our own case undisturbed by the passions of the present or reflections of the past. The premises will be denied, the processes vitiated by rampant prejudice on the part of others, even where the light of calm contemplation is not disturbed or dimmed by the presence of our own. We will to our task notwithstanding, pleasant but difficult, applying to it in all its breadth the poet's creed—

‘ Full

‘ Full hard it is to read aright
 The course of heavenly cause, or understand
 The secret meaning of the Eternall’ might
 That rules men’s waies, and rules the thoughts of living wight.’
Faërie Queene, ix. 6.

The positive merits of John Wesley were distinguished, and will come in for discussion when we sum up his character ; meanwhile we shall take occasion to dwell upon his comparative greatness.

The incidents of history and the objects of nature derive much of their impressiveness from the circumstances surrounding both. Contrast is essential to grand effects. The massacre at Bethlehem gathers blackness from the infant age of the victims ; and the frantic leap of Niagara contrasts finely with the oily smoothness of the river above the Fall. The voyager near ‘ earth’s central line ’ —the region of perpetual sun and frequent calm ; where the surface of the sea is unbroken with a billow, yet the bulk of the ocean moves together like some monster labouring under an oppressive load

‘ in torrid clime

Dark heaving, boundless, endless, and sublime ;’—

marks the huge sweltering gambols of the whale, and hears the loud hiss and rush of the jet he projects into the air, best in the cool grey and death-like stillness of the early dawn. The level and the quiet of all around convey the most vivid and instantaneous impressions to the watcher’s eye and ear ; and ‘ There is that leviathan ! ’ (Ps. civ. 26) bursts from the lips with an assurance and a rapture which its unwieldy *pas seuls* would not awaken amid the stirring activities of day and the distraction of stormier scenes and wilder moods. And having traversed under a burning summer sun the length of some Swiss valley, and encountered in your fatiguing march, knapsack on shoulder and staff in hand, the varieties of mid-winter temperature by the *mer de glace*, and the heat of the dog-days in deep, serene, and sheltered nooks, where air to breathe seems almost as great a rarity as wind to blow, where the fumes of the rank vegetation and the wild flowers are stifling and unhealthy,—what think you is the fittest time and place to hear the thunder of the avalanche, and trace and tremble at its fall ? It is just at that cool hour when, refreshed at your hostelry, your sense of weariness is removed, but sufficient languor remains to tame down your mind into harmony with the scene, and you wander out some half-mile from your temporary home, like the orphan patriarch of old, to meditate at eventide. The sun has just set over the Jungfrau or Schreckhorn, and, liberal of its cosmetics, has laid its red upon the dead cheek of the everlasting

snow. There is not a breeze stirring. The brief twilight is just about to close in night. The wing of the last loitering bee has been folded in its hive. The beetle has droned his sonorous vesper hymn. All is silence, uninterrupted by a sound, except perchance at distant intervals the faint bleat of the goat on the rock high overhead, or the whistle of some shepherd-pipe in the hand of the rustic returning from his labour :—

‘ for here the patriarchal days
Are not a pastoral fable ; pipes in the liberal air
Mix with the sweet bells of the sauntering herd.’

Then on the startled ear that has been learning wisdom at the feet of silence bursts a crack, like the sharp instantaneous report of a rifle, followed and drowned on the moment by a confused rustle, hoarse rumble, and afterwards a heavy thunderous sound of fall and concussion comparable to nothing so much as the cadence of ten thousand woolpacks dropped together upon a board floor. The danger is not near, but the vibrations of the air and the almost breathless hush of the evening make it seem so. A mountain of snow and commingled ice has fallen up some gorge that debouches into our valley, and a spray of snowy particles, which rises cloudwise into the darkening sky, shows the scene and the nature of the ruinous visitation. The tranquillity of the hour makes the crash more loud, the devastation more appalling. Amid lightning, tempest, and thunder, the chief effect had been lost—the avalanche had been unnoticed—the crown of majesty had fallen unheeded from the monarch mountain’s head.

A phenomenon with like effect appealing to a different sense will show itself in other scenes. As the traveller approaches Rome from the south, leaving Naples with its charms and its cheats, its lazzaroni and its liveliness, its exquisite sky and sea, with its execrable superstition, dirt, and frivolity behind ; but notwithstanding all its drawbacks, where

‘ Simply to feel that we breathe, that we live,
Is worth all the joys that life elsewhere can give,’

and passing the sounding sea, and the dismal marish, lofty Terracina, and lowly Fondi, at length tops the range that encloses the Campagna southward, what object is it chiefly arrests the eye ? In that great ocean of a plain, a hundred miles by fifty, the seeming crater of some gigantic volcano with its sulphur streams and its noisome stench, like a barque upon the waters floats imperial Rome, the object most conspicuous in the eternal city the wondrous cupola, which speaks her the queen of architectural grandeur, resting like a diadem upon her brow, and bearing no remote resemblance to the tiara of her pontiff ruler ;—nothing besides can

arrest

arrest the gaze. The eye takes in in its sweep the mountain line of the northern and eastern horizon, Soracte empurpled by distance with its sister ridges on the right, the silver sea with Ostia on the left. It marks the ruins that here and there stud the plain, the tombs, the towns, the towers, the arches, and the aqueducts, the long reaches of which last stretch in picturesque continuity here and there, like a caravan of mules winding over the sierras of Granada. We stand on the brow of Albano, sheltering ourselves from the midday sun under the shade of some broad plane-tree, or luxuriant elm, or embowering vine, and see—we cannot but see—the tomb of Pompey, the ruins of Bovillæ, Frattochie, Torre di Mezza Via, perhaps even Metella's tomb, and catch glimpses now and then of the unequalled Via Appia, its geometrical rectitude in striking contrast with the serpentine Tiber ; but above all, and beyond all, we look upon that group in the centre of the picture, that lone mother of dead empires, ' the Niobe of nations '—Rome. All objects besides are unattractive ; the mountains too distant, the ruins too bare, the wild flowers of this huge prairie too minute and commonplace for special attention ; all things near the soil, too, quiver in the dazzling light and burning heat of noon ; but high above the undulating vapour, and towering in its Parian whiteness up into an angelic sky, rises the colossal creation of Buonarotti's genius. We glance at other objects ; we gaze at this. It breaks the line of our northern horizon with a pomp and pretension that nothing besides can dare. It looms out of the bosom of the ' weary, stale, flat, and unprofitable ' foreground, a pleasant and most exciting landmark, an ecclesiastical Eddystone, in the unbillowy sea of the Campagna. This greatest of man's works, which would be insignificant beside the works of God—the Alps or the nearer Apennines, is here great, comparatively so, just as a man of five feet stature would be a giant among Lilliputians of one. We speak not of its moral interest, *that* is superlative and enchainning, but of its material inches, whereby it overtops almost every object within a circuit of twenty miles. Look from any extremity of the Campagna to the centre, and St. Peter's, like a stone Saul, overmeasures all competing altitudes by the head and lofty shoulders.

And this brings us, by a roundabout way possibly, to the point at which we aim—a comparative estimate of the greatness of John Wesley by the littleness of the times in which he lived. Our purpose has been too obvious, we trust, to need the application of our figures. We mean simply to imply that Wesley was that waterspout and snowy spray-jet, roaring in the stillness of morning, and arched over the calm surface of the sea on the grey canvas of the horizon ;—Wesley that ice-crash rasping down the mountain-

mountain-side, startling the ear of silence in Helvetian solitudes, upsetting the equilibrium of all things, shaking the earth and air and the listener's frame, like the spasm of an earthquake ;— Wesley, in fine, that dome, 'the vast and wondrous dome,' lofty in proportions, perfect in symmetry, suspended in mid-air, by the happy conception of him whose great thought, like all great thoughts, was manifestly inspired, 'a heavenly guest, a ray of immortality,' and which aerial pile, wander where we will within its range, is the attracting centre of vision, the cynosure of all eyes.

In the particular field Wesley took upon him to cultivate, he stood alone, or almost alone, and his position adds magnitude to all his dimensions. He fills the picture. It were scarce exaggeration to travestie the Grand Lewis's terse egotism, 'The State! that is I,' and put it into our reformer's mouth at the commencement of his career—'Religion! that is I.' The religious sensibility of England lay dead or chained in 'the breathless, hushed, and stony sleep' of the Princess Dormita and her retinue in the fairy tale. He alone seemed awake to the exigencies of the times, the responsibilities of the ministry, the corruption of manners, and the value of souls. This statement will of course be understood with all the qualification truth demands on behalf of some exemplary parish clergymen who sparsely enlightened the darkness around them, but who never passed into the broad sunshine of general reputation or extensive influence. There were those, we gladly own, who bowed not the knee to the prevailing dissoluteness or indifference; but, like angels' visits, these were few and far between. And it is not to be denied that in many non-conformist places of worship, under the combined influence of the persecutions of earlier years, general contempt, and their close-borough constitution and government which took them out of the healthful and conservative current of public opinion, vital religion was becoming a name, and the doctrine of the Cross passing into 'another Gospel' in which the Cross had no place. Arianism, with stealthy steps, was creeping in upon the fold of Presbyterianism 'for to steal, and to kill, and to destroy,' while Independency either withered into a cold protest against the established episcopacy, shot into seed in the unhealthy luxuriance of hyper-Calvinism, or was too insignificant to be of any account whatever in an ecclesiastical notice of the period.

The general condition of the Church of England was deplorable. There was no lack of learning and respectability in many quarters, but as a whole its state could not satisfy a conscientious observer. The study of the Greek language and the introduction of the theology of the Greek school since the Reformation, together with various political causes, had combined to produce a latitudi-

narian

narian and moderated style of preaching and acting amongst the clergy at large. The best men were most entirely under the influences we have named. Their learning, their enlightened hatred of the fanaticism under the Commonwealth, and an honourable sense of the advantages of their position, made them carefully shun the excesses of non-conforming zeal, and generously avoid giving offence to conscientious dissenters. The names of Tillotson and Tension, Doctors Samuel Clark and Jortin, will tolerably fairly represent the reigning spirit of the better part of the clerical body about the commencement of the eighteenth century, while others were contented to be as devoid of evangelical unction as they, without their accomplishments and decent behaviour. But in the ministry of souls moderation is madness, and want of zeal death. Men betake themselves to a formal minister as they do to the gravedigger, an inevitable but unpleasant functionary, whose services they never relish, and whose inane moralities cannot edify. Such unfortunately was the ecclesiastical condition of England when the Wesleys arose, and it is no breach of charity to aver, that, weighed in the balances of heaven, the existing ministry throughout the country was found at that period, as to its most exalted aims and divine results, utterly wanting. We are not blind to the subordinate advantages a widely-established corporation of more or less educated men must entail upon a land, men by their profession the friends of order, decency, and humanity; but at the same time we cannot forget that the church is neither a police-court, a philosophical school, nor an almonry. Men may be mild magistrates, wise teachers, exemplary country gentlemen, without fear and without reproach on the score of morals and manners, and yet be destitute of the spirit of their office and ignorant of its claims. We draw the veil over anything worse which presents itself for comment in the clerical profession at that period. There was enough in the aspect of the times, even upon the most indulgent showing, to make the mission of some such agent as John Wesley a necessity as imperative as the mission of one of the judges in the straits and abjectness of Israel, or the requisitions of the economic law that the demand regulates the supply.

In such circumstances was Providence nurturing a man for the hour, while the hour was as divinely and obviously prepared for the man. And neither from kingly courts nor cloistered cells was the hero of 'this strange eventful history' to come—the man that was to work wider change upon the religious and social aspect of England than has ever been effected by any reformer since Christianity visited our shores. In truth, his sympathies were neither with the monk nor the monarch, but, a child of the people, as all
great

great reformers have been, his sympathies were with the masses, the men from whom he sprung. He was reared amid obscurity, poverty, and rebuke,—rebuks that implied no disgrace, poverty which piety hallowed, obscurity that bred no discontent—and he never forgot the discipline of his childhood nor the tradition of his poor but godly parentage, and his heart ever found its most genial soil amid the humble, holy, and enduring people of God. Of ambition, with which he has been most recklessly charged, he seems to have been absolutely incapable, except the ambition of doing good. He had rather suffer any day than shine. In fact, to suffer, if by that he meant to labour to fatigue, and self-denial to austerity, became a necessity of his nature, while to shine was as deliberately rejected as this was pursued. And it was this thorough oneness of mind, propension, and condition with the people which prompted and controlled his career. He looked at the Man through the frieze jacket of careful thrift and ‘the looped and windowed raggedness’ of abject penury; yea, he looked at him in the haunts of vice and the prison-house of the criminal, and saw written upon him even there, in indubitable presence, the image, though sorely mutilated, of God, just as beneath the jewelled cap of maintenance and the purple of nobility he saw no more. Not knowing therefore, or not heeding the distinctions that obtain among men, the object of his ministry was Man. He was swayed by no class predilections, or unsocial partialities, save that his high sense of duty and the special demands of his mission made him prevailingly the friend of the friendless and the comforter of the lowly. In this aspect of his work his imitation of Christ was pre-eminent, that his labour of love was specially consecrated ‘to seek and to save that which was lost.’

But we anticipate, and must glance at the boy Wesley, and the circumstances which proved the Campus Martius to train him for his lifelong conflict ‘with the rulers of the darkness of this world, with spiritual wickedness in high places.’

Close bordering on the winding Trent, in one of the richest portions of Lincolnshire, is the parish and manor of Epworth, the church standing upon an elevation reached by a gentle ascent about four miles from the river, but shaded from view by a shoulder of the hill. Right well do we remember our pilgrimage to that memorable spot a few short months ago, our readers may divine the day by consulting their almanacks for the birthday of our gracious Queen, in the year of our Lord 1848. This occasion, as we are loyalists to the very core of our nature, we never fail to observe as a holiday, we and all our house. The heavens smiled propitiously on our purpose, for never did a brighter spring sun pour gladness into the heart than that which shone upon us

as

as we crept blithely along the road that gradually swept up from the ferry. Our sensations we will not attempt to describe as we paced the pathway of the quiet old country town, where the first relic we picked up was the characteristic one of a torn page of the New Testament. Enthusiasm upon paper is vapid as the lees of wine; it wants the first element of enthusiasm—life. The imagination of our readers must supply the want of graphic power in our pen. Suffice it to say that it was with more than common emotion we looked upon the font where the man whose genius made the celebrity of the place had been baptized; upon the communion table where Wesley had often officiated, yet whence he had been rudely repulsed by an intemperate and ungrateful priest, who had owed his all to the Wesleys; on the tombstone of his father, which on that occasion and subsequently served the itinerant John for a pulpit, from which he addressed weeping multitudes in the churchyard; on the withered sycamore beneath whose shade he must have played; and finally, through the courtesy of the rector, the Hon. and Rev. Charles Dundas, on the parsonage, now scarcely recognizable for the same from the improvement it has received at the hand of wealth guided by the eye of taste, though old Jeffrey's room still retains much of its ghostliness. The day that revealed to us all these and sundry memorabilities is one to be noted with chalk in our calendar.

The lower ground of the isle of Axholme, in the midst of which Epworth stands, had from time immemorial been subject to almost constant submersion from the river, and was little better than a Mere, the title Leland gives it in his *Itinerary*. Its value, however, was so obvious to the eyes of both natives and foreigners that a charter to drain this whole country side was given to Cornelius Vermuyden in the time of the Stuarts, and the thing was done, to the rescue of a considerable part of the king's chase from the dominion of the lawless waters, and to the increase of the arable and pasture land of the neighbourhood to the extent of many thousand acres of 'a fine rich brown loam, than which there is none more fertile in England.' To this parish the father of our hero was presented in the year 1693 as a reward for his merits in defending from the press the Revolution of 1688. The living was of inconsiderable amount, under 200*l.* per annum, but by no means contemptible to a waiter upon Providence, whose clerical income had never before averaged 50*l.* per year, and was the more agreeable as it promised to lead to something better, since the ground of his present advancement was the recognition in high places of the opportune loyalty of the literary parson. Here, with a regularly increasing family, without any corresponding increase of stipend, the exemplary rector laboured for ten years ere the

the birth of his son John, 'contending with low wants and lofty will,' with the dislike and opposition of his unruly parishioners, with his own chafed tempers and disappointed expectations, with serious inroads upon his income by fire and flood, and with the drag-chain of a poverty that pressed upon the means of subsistence, and which his literary labours availed little to lighten. Few things are more impressive than the peep he gives us into his domestic history in his half jocular, half serious defence from the ungenerous charges of his elder brother Matthew, that he had not turned his resources to such good account for his family as he might have done. He calls his letter 'John O'Style's apology against the imputation of his ill husbandry.'

After some preliminary matter, he thus proceeds:—

'When he first walked to Oxford he had in cash 2*l.* 5*s.*

'He lived there till he took his bachelor's degree, without any preferment or assistance except *one crown*.

'By God's blessing, on his own industry, he brought to London 10*l.* 15*s.*

'When he came to London he got deacon's orders and a cure, for which he had 28*l.* in one year; in which year for his board, ordination and habit, he was indebted 30*l.*, which he afterwards paid.

'Then he went to sea, where he had for one year 70*l.*, not paid till two years after his return.

'He then got a curacy of 30*l.* per annum, for two years, and by his own industry he made it 60*l.* per annum.

'He married and had a son, and he and his wife and child boarded for some years in or near London, without running into debt.

'He then had a living given him in the country, let for 50*l.* per annum, where he had five children more; in which time, and while he lived in London, he wrote a book^a which he dedicated to Queen Mary, who gave him a living in the country [Epworth], valued at 200*l.* per annum, where he remained for nearly forty years, and wherein his numerous offspring amounted with the former to nineteen children.

'Half of his parsonage-house was first burnt, which he rebuilt; some time after the whole was burnt to the ground, which he rebuilt from the foundations, and it cost him above 400*l.*, besides the furniture, none of which was saved; and he was forced to renew it.

'Some years after he got a little living [Wroote] adjoining to his former, the profits of which very little more than defrayed the expenses of serving it, and sometimes hardly so much, his whole tithe having been in a manner swept away by inundations, for which the parishioners had a brief; though he thought it not decent for himself to be joined with them in it.

'Many years he has been employed in composing a large book,^b whereby he hopes that he may be of some benefit to the world, and in

^a The Life of Christ.

^b Dissertations on Job.

a degree

a degree amend his own fortunes. By sticking so close to his work he has broke a pretty strong constitution, and fallen into the palsy and gout. Besides, he has had sickness in his family, for the most of the years since he was married.

‘His greater living seldom cleared more than five score pounds per annum, out of which he allowed 20*l.* a-year to a person who married one of his daughters. Could we on the whole fix the balance, it would easily appear whether he has been an ill husband, or careless and idle, and taken no care of his family.

‘Let all this be balanced, and then a guess may easily be made of his sorry management. He can struggle with the *world* but not with *providence*; nor can he resist *sickness, fires, and inundations.*’

The defence is able and satisfactory, and our sympathies gather round the ‘busy bee’ whose active industry and zeal could not shield his hive from spoliation and misfortune, while many a contemporary drone surfeited in abundance, and wore out a useless life in luxury, self-indulgence, and criminal ease. Ere his son John, the future father of Methodism, had completed his third year, the rector of Epworth was in gaol for debt. The exasperation of party, which he took no means to allay but rather chafed and provoked, for he gloried in his ‘church and state politics’ being ‘sufficiently *elevated,*’^c brought down upon him the unmanly vengeance of his creditors, and they spited their political opponent by throwing him into prison. This affliction brought him friends, who succeeded in procuring his release after an incarceration of some months, but neither enlarged his resources, nor increased his prudence. He seems to have been a stern if a faithful pastor, and when called to encounter prejudices, to have met them with prejudices as virulent of his own.

Into such a home as all this bespeaks, needy but not sordid, poverty-stricken yet garnished by high principle and dogged resolution, full of anxieties for temporal provision, yet free from the discontent that dishonours God, was John Wesley ushered, on the 17th of June, 1703. For all that made the comfort of that home, the joy of his childhood and the glory of his riper years, the great reformer was indebted to his mother, as who, that is ever great or good, is not.

Never was child more fortunate in a maternal guide than young Wesley, and never could mother claim more exclusively the credit of her son’s early training. At eleven years of age he left home for the Charterhouse-school, London, but up to that period he was educated by his mother. Literary composition, correspondence, and parochial and secular duties fully employed his father; but amid the domestic cares of fifteen living children, his pious and

^c John O’Style’s Dissertations.

gifted mother found time to devote six hours daily to the education of her family. We scarcely know where we could light upon a document which can parallel with this which we subjoin, for its good sense, piety, and sound appreciation of the infant mind.

‘In order to form the mind of children,’ observes this excellent mother and teacher, in a letter to her son in after years explanatory of her method of procedure, ‘the first thing to be done is *to conquer their will*. To inform the understanding is the work of time, and must with children proceed by slow degrees, as they are able to bear it; but the subjecting the will is a thing that must be done at once, and *the sooner the better*; for, by neglecting timely correction, they will contract a stubbornness and obstinacy which are hardly ever after conquered; and never without using such severity as would be as painful to me as to the child. In the esteem of the world they pass for kind and indulgent whom I call *cruel* parents, who permit their children to get habits which they know must be afterwards broken. When the will of a child is subdued, and it is brought to revere and stand in awe of its parents, then a great many childish follies and inadvertencies may be passed by. Some should be overlooked and others reprov’d: but no *wilful* transgression ought to be forgiven children without chastisement less or more, as the nature and circumstances of the offence may require. I insist upon conquering the *will* of children betimes, because this is the only strong and rational foundation of a religious education, without which both precept and example will be ineffectual. But when this is thoroughly done, then a child is capable of being governed by the reason and piety of its parents, till its own understanding comes to maturity, and the principles of religion have taken root in the mind.

‘I cannot dismiss this subject yet. As *self-will* is the root of all sin and misery, so whatever cherishes this in children ensures their wretchedness and irreligion; whatever checks and mortifies it promotes their future happiness and piety. This is still more evident if we consider that religion is nothing else than doing the *will* of God, and not our own; that the one grand impediment to our temporal and eternal happiness being this self-will, no indulgence of it can be trivial, no denial unprofitable. Heaven or hell depends on this alone. So that the parent who studies to subdue it in his child, works together with God in the renewing and saving a soul. The parent who indulges it, does the devil’s work, makes religion impracticable, salvation unattainable, and does all that in him lies to damn his child, soul and body, for ever.

‘Our children were taught, as soon as they could speak, the Lord’s Prayer, which they were made to say at rising and bed time constantly; to which, as they grew older, were added a short prayer for their parents, and some portion of Scripture, as their memories could bear. They were very early made to distinguish the Sabbath from other days. They were taught to be still at family prayers, and to ask a blessing immediately after meals, which they used to do by *signs* before they could kneel or speak. They were quickly made to understand that they should

should have nothing they *cried for*, and instructed to speak respectfully for what they wanted.'

We must be excused for making one other short extract, on the ground of its great wisdom and beauty. Among several bye laws enumerated for the government of the children, the following occur :—

'3. That no child should ever be chid or beat *twice* for the same fault; and that if they amended, they should never be upbraided with it afterwards.

'4. That every signal act of obedience, especially when it crossed their own inclinations, should be always commended, and frequently rewarded, according to the merits of the case.

'5. That if ever any child performed an act of obedience, or did any thing with an *intention* to please, though the performance was not well, yet the obedience and intention should be kindly accepted, and the child with sweetness directed how to do better in future.'

There is much more of equal excellence, but we forbear.

Passing from under the tutelage of his accomplished mother, young Wesley became at the Charterhouse a sedate, quiet, and industrious pupil. The regularity of system which characterised the man was even then visible in the boy, taking his methodical race round the garden thrice every morning. His excellent habits were rewarded by the esteem of his masters, and his election six years afterwards to Christ's Church College, Oxford. At the University he maintained the reputation for scholarship acquired at school, and ere long was chosen a Fellow of Lincoln, and appointed Greek Lecturer and Moderator of the Classes to the University. And here properly begins the religious life of the young reformer. Prior to his ordination, which took place in 1725, he had devoted himself to such a course of reading as he considered most likely to conduce to his spiritual benefit, and qualify him for his sacred office. Upon the mind of one so religiously and orderly brought up, the *Ascetic Treatises* of Thomas à Kempis, and Taylor's *Holy Living and Dying*, would naturally make a deep impression, the more as their earnest strain would contrast so favourably with the epicurean *insouciance*, or the stolid fatalism of his classic favourites. The highest effort of Pagan heroism and philosophy was to invite their dead to the feast and orgie, and mock at death by crowning him with flowers, while of all the sublimer objects of life they were as ignorant as to its more serious duties they were unequal. Surfeited with their dainties which he had relished as a child, when he became a man he put away childish things with the loathing of a matured and higher taste. Assistant to his father for two years in the adjacent living of Wroote, and engaged thus in the actualities of the ministry, his

soul

soul found more and more occasion for self-examination, self-renunciation, and devotion to the solemn work of his calling. Impressions deepened upon his mind, which could not fail to issue in great good to the church of Christ, impressions made by his temper of body, early training, and the studies and duties of his vocation. His views were very imperfect of the doctrines of Grace, but his heart was undergoing that process of preparation for their full disclosure and ready reception which might be resembled to turning up the fallow ground. He was not far from the kingdom of God. While the young clergyman was engaged in the searchings of heart attendant upon his early experience, and was prosecuting the labours of his country cure, God was maturing at Oxford a system of events which was to issue in the result he sought—light to the understanding, peace to the conscience, purity to the life, and an assured sense of the Divine forgiveness. Charles Wesley, the younger brother, during John's two years' absence on his cure, seemed to have waked all at once from the religious apathy of his under-graduate course, and falling in with two or three young men of kindred feelings with his own, they associated for mutual improvement and religious exercises. They received the Sacrament weekly, and practised certain very obvious but very unusual austerities in regard to food, raiment, and amusements, quite sufficient to draw upon them general observation. The world, which has a keen sense of the ridiculous, saw in all this only oddity and folly, and in sooth it is no necessary adjunct of real religion—perhaps thought it something still less worthy of respect—hypocrisy, and love of notoriety. But observers could have borne even with these defects better than with what they found in the enthusiastic objects of their dislike—earnest practical godliness, which intimidation could not daunt nor ridicule shame. They gave these parties, therefore, the names of Sacramentarians, Bible-bigots, Bible-moths, the Holy, and the Godly Club. But from the orderly method of their life, the name Methodists, that of an ancient sect of physicians, gradually stuck to the latter party, one not altogether new in its applications to religion any more than the Puritans (Cathari) of an earlier date. This title they neither sought nor shunned. If it gave no glory it implied little reproach. But they justified their religious views by the practical value of their measures. They could appeal to their works as their best vindication. Their acquittal were triumphant were the tree of their profession judged by its fruits. We know not where, out of the Gospels, a more successful appeal is made in favour of practical godliness, the religion of good sense and good works, than in the document we are about to submit to our readers. Never was there less enthusiasm, fanaticism, rant

(O si

(*O si sic omnia* !), in any page of letter press—never more convincing ratiocination, more clear exposition of duty, than in its dozen quiet interrogations.

‘Whether it does not concern all men, of all conditions, to imitate Him, as much as they can, who went about doing good?’

‘Whether all Christians are not concerned in that command, while we have time let us do good unto all men, especially to those who are of the household of faith?’

‘Whether we shall not be more happy hereafter the more good we do now?’

‘Whether we may not try to do good to our acquaintance among the young gentlemen of the university?’

‘Particularly whether we may not endeavour to convince them of the necessity of being Christians and of being scholars?’

‘May we not try to do good to those who are hungry, or naked, or sick? If we know any necessitous family, may we not give them a little food, clothes, or physic, as they want?’

‘If they can read, may we not give them a Bible or a Prayer Book, or a Whole Duty of Man? May we not enquire now and then how they have used them, explain what they do not understand, and enforce what they do?’

‘May we not enforce upon them the necessity of private prayer, and of frequenting the Church and Sacrament?’

‘May we not contribute what we are able towards having their children clothed and taught to read?’

‘May we not try to do good to those who are in prison?’

‘May we not release such well disposed persons as remain in prison for small debts?’

‘May we not lend small sums of money to those who are of any trade, that they may procure themselves tools and materials to work with?’

‘May we not give to them who appear to want it most a little money, or clothes, or physic?’

Such is their apology—a probe for the conscience, which searches the latent wound, but only searches to heal—a promptuary of every good word and work—a brief but weighty preface to a life of labour and of love—a whole library of folio divinity in small—the casuistry of an honest and good heart resolved in a handful of questions—the law that came by Moses, clothed in the inimitable grace and truth that came by Jesus Christ—a most Holy Inquisition of which no brotherhood need be ashamed—the beatitudes of our Lord charged home, and chambered in the heart by the impulse of an earnest query—a *thema con variazione*, making melody in the heart unto the Lord while breathing deep-toned benevolence toward man. If ever church originated in an unexceptionable source it was this. If ever one could challenge its foundation as resting on the Apostles and Prophets, Jesus Christ himself

himself being the chief corner-stone, it was this. If ever church was cradled, as its Lord was cradled, in supreme glory to God and good will to man—if ever church at its birth was an incarnation of the first and chief commandment, charity, the sum and end of the law, it was this church. This is more than can be said of any of the great moral revolutions of the world. Almost all the more remarkable changes in human opinion, the truths as well as the errors, have been mixed with a considerable alloy of human infirmity in their origin and conduct. Envy and selfishness, and pride and ambition, have shown themselves in various degrees, as moving powers in the world of thought and religion, and though the results under Divine superintendence have been overruled to good, the process has been faulty. We cannot say, for we do not believe, that there was not much of human passion at the bottom of the indignant Luther's breach with Rome, while ingenuous Protestantism must blush over the sensuality and cruelty of Henry VIII. Even the self-denying non-conformists do not show so bright, when we reflect that the majority of them in closing their ministry in the church on St. Bartholomew's day, did never perhaps belong to what is popularly called the Church of England, nor object so much to the imposition of a particular prayer-book, as to any prayer-book at all, being in fact Presbyterians and Independents. But here, alike free from the infirmities of Aletharch, or Heresiarch, free from selfish aim or end, unfraught with doctrinal pride, uninflated by youthful presumption, a few good men go forth, a second college of apostles, ordained with a like ordination, having the unction of the Holy One, and charged with the same divine mission, 'to seek and to save that which was lost,' freely receiving from heaven, and freely giving in return. Language and imagery would fail us in depicting sooner than our soul cease from admiring the purity and sublimity of the object these compassionate men sought by their personal consecration, their visits of mercy, and their prayers :

' I can't describe it though so much it strike,
Nor liken it—I never saw the like.'

Looking down, like the divine humanity of the Son of God from the height of his priestly throne, far above every feeling save that of sorrow for the sufferings and sins of men, their eyes suffused with pitiful tears, and they resolved to do what they could. Suffice it to say that, baptized in such a laver as this, the Methodist church which has since attained a respectable maturity, has never renounced the principles that hallowed its early dedication,—has kept the whiteness of its garments unsullied by the pollutions of the world,—has raised visibly everywhere the banner of mercy to the

the bodies and souls of men, and can say still, as it professed then, 'I am free from the blood of all men.'

John Wesley will be found to have given currency by his course of action to a set of divine ideas easily acted upon, but not always clearly apprehended, which make up the sum of personal religion, and without which it may be added personal religion cannot exist. This is the philosophy of his career, perhaps very imperfectly understood by himself, probably never drawn out by him in a systematic form, yet sufficiently obvious to us who look back upon his completed life, and live amid the results of his labours. Immersed in the complexities of the game, the turmoil of the storm in which his busy life was cast, the unceasing struggle of his soul with the gigantic evils of the world, he could neither observe nor analyse, as we can do, the elements arrayed against him, nor the principles evolved in the conflict that were ministrant to his success. As we are in the habit of raising instinctively the arm, or lowering the eyelid to repel or shun danger, so he adopted measures and evolved truths by force of circumstances more than by forethought, those truths and measures so adapted to his position as a preacher of righteousness amid an opposing generation, that we recognize in their adaptation and natural evolution proof of their divineness. They are the same truths which were exhibited in the first struggles of an infant Christianity with the serpent of Paganism, and when exhibited again upon a like arena seventeen centuries afterwards, with similar success, are thus proved to be everywhere and always the same, eternal as abstract truth, and essential as the existence of God.

The first grand truth thrown up upon the surface of John Wesley's career, we take to be the absolute necessity of personal and individual religion.

To the yoke of this necessity he himself bowed at every period of his history: never even when most completely astray as to the ground of the sinner's justification before God, did he fail to recognize the necessity of conversion and individual subjection to the laws of the Most High. What he required of others, and constantly taught, he cheerfully observed himself. Very soon after starting upon his course did he learn that the laver of baptism was unavailing to wash from the stain of human defilement, the Supper of the Lord to secure admission to the marriage supper of the Lamb, and church organization to draft men collectively to heaven by simple virtue of its corporate existence. These delusions, whereby souls are beguiled to their eternal wrong, soon ceased to juggle him, for his eye, kindled to intelligence by the Spirit of God, pierced the transparent cheat. He ascertained at a very early period that the church had no dele-

gated power to ticket men in companies for a celestial journey, and sweep them railroad-wise in multitudes to their goal; consequently that this power, where claimed or conceded, was usurpation on the one hand, and a compound of credulousness and servility on the other, insulting to God and degrading to man. But he began with himself. We suppose he never knew the hour in which he did not feel the need of personal religion to secure the salvation of the soul. He was happily circumstanced in being the son of pious and intelligent parents, who would carefully guard him against the prevalent errors on these points. He never could have believed presentation at the font to be salvation, nor the vicarious vow of sponsors a substitute for personal renunciation of the world, the flesh, and the devil: and he early showed this. When the time of his ordination drew nigh, and he was about to be inducted into the cure of souls, he was visited with great searchings of heart. His views of the mode of the sinner's acceptance with God were confused indeed; but on the subject of personal consecration they may be said never to have varied. Fighting his way, as he was called to do, through a lengthened period of experimental obscurity, 'working out his salvation with fear and trembling,' we nevertheless cannot point to any moment in his spiritual history in which he was not a child of God. What an incomparable mother must he have had! what a hold must she have established upon his esteem and confidence, to whom this fellow of a college referred his scruples and difficulties in view of his ordination, and whom his scholarly father bade him consult when his own studious habits and abundant occupations forbade correspondence with himself! Animated to religious feeling about this time, he made a surrender of himself to God, made in partial ignorance, but never revoked. 'I resolved,' he says, 'to dedicate *all* my life to God, *all* my thoughts, and words, and actions; being thoroughly convinced there was no medium; but that *every part* of my life (not *some* only) must either be a sacrifice to God or myself,—that is, in effect, to the devil.' And his pious father, seconding his son's resolve, replies; 'God fit you for your great work! fast, watch, and pray! believe, love, endure, and be happy!' And so he did according to his knowledge, for a more conscientious clergyman and teacher, for the space of ten years, never lived than the Rev. John Wesley, fellow and tutor of Lincoln. But there was a whole world of spiritual experience yet untrodden by him amid the round of his college duties, ascetic practices, and abounding charities. His heart told him, and books told him, and the little godly company who met in his rooms all told him, in tones more or less distinct, that he had not yet

yet attained—that he was still short of the mark—that the joys of religion escaped his reach, though its duties were unexceptionably performed. His course of reading, the mystic and ascetic writers, together with the dry^d scholastic divinity that furnishes the understanding but often drains the heart, tended to this result, to fill the life with holy exercises rather than to overflow the soul with sacred pleasure. Of the simple, ardent, gladsome, gracious piety of the poor, he yet knew next to nothing. But God was leading him through the wilderness of such an experience as this by a right way to a city of habitation, doubtless that he might be a wise instructor to others who should be involved hereafter in mazes like his own. He looked upon religion as a debt due by the creature to the Creator, and he paid it with the same sense of constraint with which one pays a debt, instead of regarding it as the ready service of a child of God. A child of God could not be other than religious; but, more than this, he would not if he could; religion is his

‘vital breath,
It is his native air.’

But Wesley did not understand as yet the doctrine of free pardon, the new birth, and the life of faith: he therefore worked, conscientiously and laboriously indeed, but like a slave in chains. But God sent some poor Calvinists to teach him these truths; and he was not too proud to learn from very humble but sufficiently enlightened teachers, a few Moravian emigrants that sailed in the same vessel with him to Georgia. Their unaffected humility, unruffled good temper, and serenest self-possession in prospect of death when storms overtook the ship, struck him forcibly, and made him feel that they had reached an eminence in the divine life on which his college studies, extensive erudition, and pains-taking devotion had failed to land himself. He, therefore, sat himself at their feet; he verified the scripture metaphor, and became ‘a little child.’ In nothing was the lofty wisdom of John Wesley and his submission to divine teaching more apparent than in this, that he made himself a fool that he might be wise. Salvation by grace, and the witness of the Spirit, were taught him by these God-fearing and happy Moravians; and his understand-

^d Our censure of the scholastic divinity only reaches to the case in hand, as amongst our favourite authors we reckon Thomas Aquinas, and the Master of the Sentences. We are glad to be able to justify our partiality by such respectable authority as that of Luther. In his book *De Conciliis* (tom. vii. p. 237), he writes thus of Peter Lombard:—“Nullis in conciliis, nullo in patre tantum reperies, quam in libro sententiarum Lombardi. Nam patres et concilia quosdam tantum articulos tractant, Lombardus autem omnes; sed in præcipuis illis articulis de Fide et Justificatione nimis est jejunos, quanquam Dei gratiam magnopere prædicat.”

ing became full of light. It was only, however, some three years afterwards, subsequent to his return to England, that the joy of this free, present, eternal salvation flowed in upon his soul. The peace of God which passeth all understanding took possession of heart and mind through Christ Jesus, and for fifty years afterwards he never doubted, he never could doubt, of his acceptance with our Father who is in heaven. The sunshine of his soul communicated itself to his countenance, and lighted all his conversation. To speak with him was to speak with an angel of God.

From that time he began to preach a new doctrine, a doctrine of privilege as well as duty, of acceptance through the Beloved, and assured sense of pardon, and the happiness of the service of God. And God gave him unlooked for, un hoped for success. Excluded by almost universal consent from the churches of the establishment, he betook himself to barns, and stable-yards, and inn rooms; and ultimately, with Whitefield, to the open air, in the streets and lanes of the city, in the hills and valleys, on the commons and heaths of our native land, and with power and unction, with the Holy Ghost and much assurance did he testify to each of his hearers the doctrine of personal repentance and faith,—the necessity of the new birth for the salvation of the soul. And signs and wonders followed in them that believed: multitudes were smitten to the ground under the sword of the Spirit; many a congregation was changed into a Bochim, a place of weeping; and amid sobs, and tears, and wailings, beneath which the hearts of the most stubborn sinners quailed, one universal cry arose, ‘What must we do to be saved?’ John Wesley’s divine simple scriptural answer was, ‘Believe in the Lord Jesus Christ and thou shalt be saved.’

His personal experience of the efficacy of the prescription gave confidence to his advice. The physician had been healed himself first: he had been his own earliest patient: he knew the bitterness of the pain, the virulence of the disease, and he had proved the sanative power of his remedy. The ordeal of the new birth he had tried before he recommended it to others. He had visited the pool of Bethesda, and could therefore speak well of its waters.

And well might it work such change to have the necessity of personal religion insisted upon with such unprecedented particularity and pointedness. He singled out each hearer; he allowed no evasion amid the multitude; he showed how salvation was not by a church, nor by families, nor by ministers, nor by ordinances, nor by national communions, but by a deep singular individual experience of religion in the soul. His address was
framed

framed upon the model of the scripture query, ‘Dost *thou* believe upon the Son of God?’

A second truth developed in the ministry of John Wesley, is the absolute need of spiritual influence to secure the conversion of the soul. Conversion is not a question of willing or not willing on the part of man: the soul bears no resemblance to the muscles of the healthy arm, which the mere will to straighten and stiffen throws into a state of rigid tension at the instant, and retains them so at pleasure. The soul is in the craze and wreck of paralysis: the power of action does not respond to the will: the whole head is sick, the heart faint. To will is present with us, but how to perform that which is good we know not. The sick man would be well, but the wish is unavailing till the simple, the leech, and the blessing of the Most High conspire to invigorate. Just so is it with the soul; it must tarry till it be endued with power from on high, but not, be it understood, in the torpor of apathy, nor in the slough of despair, no, but wishing, watching, waiting. Though its search were as fruitless as that of Diogenes, it must be seeking nevertheless, just as, though the prophet's commission be to preach to the dead, he must not dispute nor disobey. We must strive to enter in although the gate be strait and the way narrow: we must be feeling after God, if haply we may find him, though it be amid the darkness of nature and the tremblings of dismay. We may scarce have ability to repent after a godly sort, yet ought we to bring forth ‘fruits meet for repentance.’ With God alone may rest the prerogative to pronounce us ‘sons of Abraham,’ yet, like Zaccheus, must we work the works becoming that relation, and right the wronged and feed the poor. While, then, we emphatically announce the doctrine that the influence of the Holy Ghost is necessary to quicken, renew, and purify the soul, we do at the same time repudiate the principle that man may fold his hands in sleep till the divine voice arouse him. Nothing short of a celestial spark can ignite the fire of our sacrifice, but we can at least lay the wood upon the altar. None but the Lord of the kingdom can admit to the privilege of the kingdom, but at the same time it is well to make inquiry of him who keeps the door. John was only the bridegroom's friend, the herald of better things to come, yet ‘Jerusalem and all Judea, and all the region round about Jordan,’ did but its duty in flocking to him to hear his tidings, and learn where to direct its homage. To endangered men the night was given for far other uses than for sleep: the storm is high and the rocks are near, the sails are rent, and the planks are starting beneath the fury of the winds and waves,—what is the dictate of wisdom, of imperious necessity? what but to ply the

the pump, to undergird the ship, to strike the mast, haul taut the cordage, 'strengthen the things that remain,' and trust in the Most High. If safety is vouchsafed, it is God who saves. So in spiritual things man must strive as if he could do every thing, and trust as if he could do nothing; and in regeneration the Scripture doctrine is that he can do nothing; he may accomplish things leading thereto, just as the Jews ministered to the resurrection of Lazarus by leading Christ to the sepulchre; but it was the divine voice that raised the dead. Thus sermons, scriptures, catechisms, and all the machinery of Christian action, will be tried and used, dealt out by the minister and shared by his flock; but with each and all must the conviction rest that it is not by might of mechanism, nor by power of persuasion conversion is brought about, but by the Spirit of the Lord of Hosts.

This truth was grievously lost sight of in Wesley's days, sunk in the tide of cold morality that inundated the land and consigned it to a theosophy less spiritual than that of Socrates or Plato. But up from the depths of the heathenish flood our great reformer fished this imperishable truth, a treasure trove exceeding in value pearls of great price, or a navy of sunken galleons. And through his ministry this shone with unequalled light, for if anything distinguished it more than another from contemporary ministries it was the emphatic prominence it assigned to the Spirit's work in conversion. This was the Pharos of his teaching, the luminous point which led the world-lost soul into the haven of assured peace and conscious adoption. And much need was there that this dogma should have received this distinctive pre-eminence and peculiar honour, for it was either totally forgotten, coarsely travestied, or boldly denied. Bishops could so far forget themselves as to call William Law, because he asserted it, one who 'obscured a good understanding by the fumes of the rankest enthusiasm, and depraved a sound judgment still further by the prejudices he took up against all sobriety in religion.'^e Wesley is styled, because he asserted it, a hypocrite and madman, moved to seek selfish ends by sectarian craft; an impure zealot, vengeful and unforgiving.^f And the experience of multitudes who professed to have undergone the change the Spirit alone can produce, is pithily termed 'the ecstatic ravings of modern fanatics.'^g

Having now dealt with the truths that bear upon personal religion and individual subjection to the truth, as well as the means whereby this was to be effected—the direct agency of the Divine Spirit, things insisted upon with untiring energy by John Wesley, we now turn attention to the views which our great reformer put

^e Warburton's 'Doctrine of Grace,' i. 5, *note*.

^f *Ibid.* ii. 12.

^g *Ibid.* i. 2.

forth regarding Christians in their associated capacity. He knew full well, none better than he, that the individual believer is not a unit, an isolation, a monad, complete in his own sufficiency, spinning round himself like a top upon its peg, rejoicing in the music of its complacent hum; no, but a joint in a system, a member of a body, a fraction of a whole, a segment of an orb, which, incomplete without its parts, becomes only by their adhesion terse and rotund. Every portion of the Christian community, like every portion of the body politic, is related to every other portion. When a man becomes a Christian he is inducted into a fraternity, made free of a sodality and guild, with the interests of which he becomes so intimately bound up that his pulse dances in its health and languishes in its decay. The figure of Scripture becomes experimental truth, 'Whether one member suffer, all the members suffer with it; or one member be honoured, all the members rejoice with it' (1 Cor. xii. 26). He is disjoined from his former association with worldly men, the bad blood of his unconverted alliances is drawn off and that of a new fellowship infused, and he becomes a member of its body, of its flesh, and of its bones. A homogeneity is established between himself and all the other parts of this spiritual incorporation, and while in matters of faith, obedience, and personal responsibility he retains his individual manhood, in all that affects the fortunes and duties of the church he thrills with a quick sympathy as the remotest nerve will with the brain. And this corporate life he only lives, enjoys its advantages, and answers its ends, while he lives in conjunction, in observance of divine ordinances and visible worship, with men like-minded with himself, the regenerate sons of God. For developing this feature of the Christian life Wesley made provision in the arrangements of his system, and this he did by prominently recognizing this further third principle, namely:—

That the church of Jesus Christ is a spiritual organization consisting of spiritual men associated for spiritual purposes.

This is the theory of that Church of which he was for several years the laborious and conscientious minister, and is nowhere more happily expressed than in its 19th article:—'The visible church of Christ is a congregation of faithful men in the which the pure word of God is preached and the sacraments be duly administered according to Christ's ordinance in all those things that of necessity are requisite to the same.' But this beautiful and Scriptural theory was to a great degree an unapproachable ideal in this country until that system arose under the creative hand of Wesley, which made it a reality, and gave it a positive existence, 'a local habitation and a name.' It is true the name he gave it was not Church, it was The Society, and in other forms
and

and subdivisions, bands, classes, &c., &c., but in essence it was the same; it was the union and communion of the Lord's people for common edification and the glory of Christ. As soon as two or three converts were made to those earnest personal views of religion he promulgated, the inclination and necessity for association commenced. It was seen in his Oxford praying coterie; seen in his fellowship with the Moravians; and afterwards fully exemplified in the mother-society at the Foundery, Moorfields, and in all the affiliated societies throughout the kingdom. The simple object of these associations was thus explained in a set of general rules for their governance, published by the brothers Wesley in 1743. The preamble states the nature and design of a Methodist Society to be 'a company of men having the form and seeking the power of godliness; united in order to pray together, to receive the word of exhortation, and to watch over one another in love, that they may help each other to work out their salvation. There is only one condition previously required in those who desire admission into these societies, a desire to flee from the wrath to come, to be saved from their sins.' They were further to evidence this desire:—'1. By doing no harm, by avoiding evil of every kind. 2. By doing good, by being in every kind merciful after their power; as they have opportunity, doing good of every possible sort, and as far as is possible to all men. And 3. By attending upon all the ordinances of God. Such are the public worship of God; the ministry of the word, either read or expounded; the supper of the Lord; family and private prayer; searching the Scriptures; and fasting and abstinence.' Whether we regard the design of association given in these terms, or the specification of duty, we seem to trace a virtual copy of the articular definition of the church recently cited. Wesley never failed to recognise the Scriptural distinction between the church and the world, nor to mark it. While he viewed with becoming deference the kingdoms of this world, and bowed to the authority of the magistrate as the great cement of human society, the clamp that binds the stones of the edifice together, he saw another kingdom pitched within the borders of these, differing from them in everything and infinitely above them, yet consentaneous with them, and vesting them with its sanction, itself all the while purely spiritual in its basis, laws, privileges, and sovereign. Blind must he have been to a degree incompatible with his general perspicacity, had he not perceived this. The men who possessed religion, and the men who possessed it not, were not to be for a moment confounded. They might be neighbours in locality and friends in good-will, but they were wide as the poles asunder in sentiment. The quick and the dead may be placed side by side, but no one can for ever so short a period

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mistake dead flesh for living fibre, the abnegation of power for energy in repose. The church and the churchyard are close by, but the worshippers in the one and the dwellers in the other are as unlike as two worlds can make them. The circle within the circle, the company of the converted, the *imperium in imperio*, the elect, the regenerate, Wesley always distinguished from the mass of mankind, and made special provision for their edification in all his organisms.

And in sooth the marked and constant recognition of this spiritual incorporation it is which gives revealed religion its only chance of survival in the world. To forget it is practically to abolish the distinction between error and truth, between right and wrong. There is no heresy more destructive than a bad life. To class the man of good life and the man of bad together,—to call them by the same name and elevate them to the same standing, is high treason against the majesty of truth, poisons the very spring of morality, and does conscience to death. A nation cannot be a church, nor a church a nation. The case of Israel was the only one in which the two kingdoms were co-extensive, conterminous. A member of a nation a man becomes by birth, but a member of a church only by a second birth. Generation is his title to the one, regeneration to the other. The one is a natural accident, the other a moral state. Citizens are the sons of the soil, Christians are the sons of heaven. To clothe then the members of the one with the livery and title of the other without the prerequisite qualification and dignity, is not only a solecism in language, but an outrage upon truth. It is to reconcile opposites, harmonise discords, blend dissimilitudes, and identify tares with wheat, light with darkness, life with death. It is the destruction of piety among the converted, for they see the unconverted honoured with their designation, advanced to their level, obtruded upon their society. It is ruin to the souls of the unconverted, because without effort of their own, without faith or prayer, or good works, or reformation, or morals, they are surprised with the style and title, the status and rewards of Christian men. This is unfortunately the practice on a large scale; the theory is otherwise and unexceptionable. Imbued with a deep sense of the beauty and correctness of the theory, Wesley did only what was natural and right when he sought to make it a great fact—a substance and not a shadow—in the church militant. In this he not only obeyed a divine injunction, but yielded to the current of events. By a natural attraction his converts were drawn together. Like will to like. ‘They that feared the Lord spake often one to another;’ and ‘all that believed were together.’ The particles were similar, the aggregate homogeneous. They had gone through the same throes, rejoiced in the same

same parentage, learned in the same school, and embraced the same destiny. They owned a common creed, 'one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all'; resisted a common temptation, took up a common cross, and in common renounced the world, the flesh, and the devil. They came together on the ground of identity of character, of desire for mutual discipline and benefit, and of community of feeling and interest. It is obvious to perceive that Wesley did not originate this communion, whether it were for good or evil; for it was an ordinance of God in its primal institution, and in this particular instance arose out of the very nature of the case. Wesley could not have prevented it, except by such measures as would have undone all he had done. God's believing people found one another out, and associated by a law as fixed and unalterable as that kali and acid coalesce, or that the needle follows the magnet. But while he did not enact the law which God's people obeyed in this close intercommunion and relationship, he understood and revered it, and furthered and regulated the intercourse of the godly by the various enactments and graduated organizations of his system. He set the city upon the hill, and bade it be conspicuous; the lamp upon the stand, and bade it shine; the vine upon the soil, and said to it, Be fruitful. He set it apart, and trimmed it, and hedged it in; convinced that such separation as Scripture enjoins (2 Cor. vi.) was essential to its growth and welfare—a truth the Christian law teaches and individual experience confirms. Every benefit the institution of a church might be supposed to secure is forfeited when the church loses its distinctive character and becomes identified with the world.

But neither to glorify their founder by their closer combination, nor for self-complacent admiration, nor to be a gazing stock for the multitude—an ecclesiastical lion of formidable dimensions and portentous roar—nor for the tittle tattle of mutual gossipry, did John Wesley segregate his people; no, but for their good and the good of mankind. The downy bed of indolence for the church, or the obesity that grows of inaction, never once came within his calculations as their lot. To rub the rust from each other, as iron sharpeneth iron, was the first object of their association; and the second to weld their forces together in the glowing furnace of communion for the benefit of the world. They were to rejoice in the good grapes of their own garden, and sweeten by inoculation and culture the sour grapes of their neighbour. They were to attract all goodness to themselves, and where it was wanting create it, after the Arab proverb, 'the palm-tree looks upon the palm-tree and groweth fruitful!' It was as the salt of the earth they were to seek to retain their savour, and not for their own preservation alone. No one ever more sedulously guarded the inward

inward subjective aspect of the church, its self-denying intent, its exclusion of the unholy and unclean, than John Wesley; and no one ever directed its objective gaze outward and away from itself, 'to have compassion on the ignorant and out of the way,' with more untiring industry than he. He knew the church's mission was more than half unfulfilled, while it locked itself up in its ark of security and left the world without to perish. He was himself the last man in the world to leave the wounded to die, passing by in his superciliousness, and asking 'Who is my neighbour?' and the last to found a community which should be icy, selfish, and unfeeling. He was a working minister, and fathomed the depth and yielded to the full current of the truth, that the church must be a working church. Armed at all points with sympathies which brought him into contact with the world without, the church must resemble him in this. He was an utterly unselfish being; he, if ever any, could say—

‘I live not in myself, but I become
Portion of that around me.’

To work for the benefit of men when he might have taken his ease became a necessity of his nature moulded upon the pattern of his self-sacrificing Master, and the law of his being must be that of the church's. It must 'do or die.' It must be instant in season, out of season. It must go into the highways and hedges. It must beseech men to be reconciled to God. It must compel them to come in. It must give no sleep to its eyes, nor slumber to its eyelids, till its work be done. It must stand in the top of high places, by the way in the places of the paths, and cry, 'O ye simple, understand wisdom; and ye fools, be ye of an understanding heart!' It must gather all the might of its energies, and lavish all the wealth of its resources, and exhaust all the influences it can command, and coin all the ingenuity of its devices into schemes for the saving benefit of the world. Thus not merely conservative of the truth must the church be for its own edification and nurture, but also diffusive of the truth for the renewal and redemption of all around.

And these were grand discoveries a hundred years ago, of which the credit rests very mainly with the founder of Methodism, although mere common-places now. It is true they were partially and speculatively held even then; but very partially, and in the region of thought rather than of action. Some saw the truth of the matter, but it was in its proverbial dwelling, and the well was deep, just perceptible at the bottom, but beyond their grasp; while to the many the waters were muddy, and they saw it not at all. There were no Bible, Tract, or Missionary Societies then to employ
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the church's powers and indicate its path of duty. But Wesley started them all. He wrote and printed and circulated books in thousands upon thousands of copies. He set afloat home and foreign missions. The church and the world were alike asleep; he sounded the loud trumpet of the gospel, and awoke the world to tremble and the church to work. Never was such a scene before in this land. The correctness and maturity of his views amid the deep darkness surrounding him is startling, wonderful, like the idea of a Catholic church springing up amid a sectarian Judaism. It is midday without the antecedent dawn. It beggars thought. It defies explanation. A church in earnest as a want of the times is, even now in these greatly advanced days, strenuously demanded and eloquently enforced by appeal after appeal from the press, the platform, and the pulpit; but Wesley gave it practical existence from the very birth-hour of his society. His vigorous bantling rent the swathing bands of quiet, self-communing, and prevalent custom, and gave itself a young Hercules to the struggle with the inertia of the Church and the opposition of the world. Successfully it encountered both. It quickened the one and subdued the other, and attained by the endeavour the muscular development and manful port and indomitable energy of its present life. John Wesley's church is no mummy chamber of a pyramid—silent, sepulchral, garnished with still figures in hieroglyphic coif and cerecloth, but a busy town, a busier hive, himself the informing spirit, the parent energy, the exemplary genius of the whole. Never was the character of the leader more accurately reflected in his troops. Bonaparte made soldiers, Wesley made active Christians.

The last principle we shall notice as illustrated by his career has relation to the nature and work of the ministry.

A grand discovery lying very near the root of Methodism, considered as an ecclesiastical system, it was the fortune of John Wesley to light upon, not far from the outset of his career, a discovery quite as momentous and influential in the diffusion and perpetuation of his opinions as that with which Luther startled the world in 1517. Luther published the then monstrous heresy that ministers who are married can serve the Lord and his church as holily, learnedly, and acceptably as celibate priests and cloistered regulars; and our hero found out that men unqualified by university education for orders in the church were the very fittest instruments he could employ in the itinerant work of early Methodism. Rough work requires rough hands. The burly pioneer is as needful in the army as the dapper ensign, and the hewer of wood in the deep forest as the French-polisher in the city. Now this was a great discovery, up to that period a thing unknown. The Roman

man Church knew nothing of such a device—its orders of various kinds bore no approximation to it; the Protestant Churches knew nothing of it—presbyter and bishop were at equal removes from it; the very puritans and non-conformists knew nothing of it, they being in their way as great sticklers for clerical order and their succession as any existing body, the more pardonable, as some were living in the early part of Wesley's history who had themselves officiated in the churches of the Establishment. His discovery was, that plain men just able to read, and explain with some fluency what they read and felt, might go forth without licence from college, or presbytery, or bishop, into any parish in the country, the weaver from his loom, the shoemaker from his stall, and tell their fellow-sinners of salvation and the love of Christ. This was a tremendous innovation upon the established order of things everywhere, and was as reluctantly forced upon so starched a precisian as John Wesley, as it must have horrified the members of the stereotyped ministries and priesthoods existing around. But as in Luther's case so here—'the present necessity' was the teacher: 'the fields were white to the harvest, and the labourers were few.' We have ample evidence to show that if he could have pressed into the service a sufficient number of the clerical profession he would have preferred the employment of such agents exclusively, but as they were only few of this rank who lent him their constant aid, he was driven to adopt the measure which we think the salvation of his system and in some respects its glory. The greater part of the clergy would have been unfitted for the work he would have allotted them, even had they not been hampered by the trammels of ecclesiastical usage. This usage properly assigns a fixed portion of clerical labour to one person, and to discharge it well is quite enough to tax the powers of most men to the utmost. Few parish ministers, how conscientious and diligent so ever, will ever have to complain of too little to do. But Wesley had a roving commission, was an 'individuum vagum,' as one of the clergy called him, and felt himself called by his strong sense of the need of some extraordinary means to awaken the sleeping population of the country to overleap the barriers of clerical courtesy and ecclesiastical law, invading parish after parish of recusant incumbents without compunction or hesitancy at the overweening impulse of duty. However much some clergymen may have sympathised with him in religious opinion, it is easy to understand how many natural and respectable scruples might prevent their following such a leader in his church errantry. They must, in fact, have broken with their own system to give themselves to his, and this they might not be prepared to do. They might value his itinerating plan as
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supplementary to the localised labours of the parish minister, but at the same time demur to its taking the place of parochial duty as its tendency was and as its effect has been. Thus was Wesley early thrown upon a species of agency for help which he would doubtless sincerely deplore at first, namely, a very slenderly equipped but zealously ardent and fearless laity, but which, again, his after experience led him to value at its proper worth, and see in the adaptation of his men to the common mind their highest qualification. 'Fire low' is said to have been his frequent charge in after life to young ministers, a maxim the truth of which was confirmed by the years of an unusually protracted ministry and acquaintance with mankind. A ministry that dealt in perfumed handkerchiefs and felt most at home in Bond Street and the ball-room, the perfumed popinjays of their profession; or one that, emulous of the fame of Nimrod, that mighty hunter before the Lord, sacrificed clerical duty to the sports of the field, prized the reputation of securing the brush before that of being a good shepherd of the sheep, and deemed the music of the Tally-ho or Hunting Chorus infinitely more melodious than the Psalms of David; or, again, one composed of the fastidious student of over-refined sensibilities, better acquainted with the modes of thought of past generations than with the actual habits of the present, delicate recluses and nervous men, the bats of society, who shrink from the sunshine of busy life into the congenial twilight of their library, whose over-educated susceptibilities would prompt the strain—

‘O lift me as a wave, a leaf, a cloud !

I fall upon the thorns of life, I bleed !’

these would have utterly failed for the work John Wesley wanted them to do. Gentlemen would either to a great degree have wanted those sympathies that should exist between the shepherd and the flock, or would have quailed before the rough treatment the first preachers were called to endure. Although the refinement of a century has done much to crush the coarser forms of persecution, it must not be forgotten that the early ministers of Methodism were called to encounter physical quite as frequently as logical argumentation. The middle terms of the syllogisms they were treated to were commonly the middle of the horsepond and their Sorites the dungheap. Now the plain men whom Wesley was so fortunate as to enlist in his cause were those whose habits of daily life and undisputing faith in the truth of their system qualified them to ‘endure hardness as good soldiers.’ They were not over refined for intercourse with rude, common people, could put up with the coarsest fare in their mission to preach the unsearchable riches of Christ to the poorest of the poor,

poor, and were not to be daunted by the perspective of rotten eggs and duckings, of brickbats and mandamuses, which threatened to keep effectually in abeyance any temptation to incur the woe when all men should speak well of them. Hence among the first coadjutors of the great leader were John Nelson, a stonemason; Thomas Olivers, a shoemaker; William Hunter, a farmer; Alexander Mather, a baker; Peter Jaco, a Cornish fisherman; Thomas Hanby, a weaver, &c. &c. &c.

Thus the ministry that was to fasten upon the people was rightly taken from among the people, a point never to be lost sight of by any religious body aiming at popular influence. In the same proportion as the teachers are selected from the aristocracy or the middle classes the field of labour will be confined to those classes, and the poor will, by a law that on the broad scale admits of no exceptions, throw themselves into the hands of persons of their own rank. This in some measure accounts for the little success of the established churches of this empire in their ministry to the poor; why, through the long night of their history, they have toiled and caught of this class comparatively nothing. It gives a reason, too, in part why the poor are gradually receding more and more from Independency, Quakerism, and Wesleyan Methodism itself, into the bosom of the Primitive Methodists, the Ranters, the Bible Christians, &c., the humble but earnest preachers of evangelic religion to the lower classes, but, alas! it is to be feared in the great preponderance of instances, into the blasphemies of infidelity, the school of the pothouse, and the excitements of crime. The church militant must never forget that its highest mission is to the lowest, and that it is then most divine when it can most confidently affirm after its Master, 'to the poor the Gospel is preached!' Might we raise the solemn and affectionate warning to the Established and the Wesleyan Churches of this land, to whom, the one by legal position and the other by its origin, more expressly seems to appertain the office of ministering to the poor, we should say, the Established Church wants what it has not, what it never had, but what it is evidently awakening to see its want of—lay preachers of the humblest class to meet the spiritual necessities of the humblest class. The Scripture readers and visitors are well in their way, and in populous parishes absolutely essential as helps to the overtasked clergy, but they are not the kind of agents we mean. Forms of prayer read together with chapters and sermons at domiciliary visits, while they may be acceptable to the already well-disposed and thoughtful poor, will not impress the unimpressed nor attract the careless. These must have warm, impassioned, plain addresses from plain artizans, men of their own rank and stamp, only fired with

with the zeal of benevolence and gifted with a natural eloquence. The raw material for this sort of labourer in the vineyard exists in ample abundance everywhere, and the clergyman might press it into the service of the Lord, with infinite advantage to the souls of men, of society at large, and of his church in particular. But then the labourer of this class must be prepared more usually to preach and to pray without book, must speak as seldom as possible in schoolrooms and regular places of assembly, considering the highways and hedges, the workshop and the back lane as his church, and must not be fettered, and hampered, and thwarted, and fretted by the busy intermeddling of the rector at the instance of ecclesiastical punctilio or professional jealousy.

And to our Wesleyan friends we next venture to say, looking in upon their polity from without, with no unfriendly eye, that the poor are as effectually slipping away from your control as from that of the Establishment. We name not the Independents, the only other considerable body in the country, because they never had the poor—that is, the very poor of the class we mean—and do not appear ever likely to have. The voluntary principle, as it is more intelligibly than correctly called, has not sufficiently developed its resources among them, and we question if it ever will, to admit of their hitherto undertaking any mission which does not promise to be speedily remunerative and self-supporting. But if ye followers of John Wesley lose your poor, you lose your strength and peculiar honour and original claim upon Christian regard, ill compensated by taking your rank co-ordinately with two or three other communions which minister to the middle classes. This will indicate your growth, opulence, and respectability undoubtedly, that you have lived down reproach, that you have a fund of external trapping that gives you importance in the general eye—ample machinery, intelligent workmen, wealthy and numerous capitalists embarked in the concern; but the glory is departed if the poor are not specially cared for, and drawn in in larger numbers into your society. From the poor up to a recent period your ranks have been chiefly recruited; it was they who swelled your numbers so rapidly in the early years of Methodism; and if this source of increase is dried up to any considerable extent, it will tell unfavourably ere long on the prosperity, reputation, and spirituality of the body. Any church that is to an observable degree unsuitable to the poor, disliked by the poor, and deserted by the poor, has failed to the same degree in one main object of its establishment, and fails to the same degree in securing the blessing of the God of the poor.

Another point in regard to the ministry to which Wesley gave habitual prominence, was the duty of making that profession a laborious

laborious calling. The heart and soul of his system, as of his personal ministry, he made to be work. Work was the mainspring of his Methodism, activity, energy, progression. From the least to the largest wheel within wheel that necessity created, or his ingenuity set up, all turned, wrought, acted incessantly and intelligently too. It was not mere machinery; it was full of eyes. To the lowest agent of Methodism, be it collector, contributor, exhorter, or distributor of tracts, each has, besides the faculty of constant occupation, the ability to render a reason for what he does. Work and wisdom are in happy combination—at least, such was the purpose of the contriver, and we have reason to believe has been in a fair proportion secured. And the labour that marks the lower, marks pre-eminently the higher departments of the system. The ministry beyond all professions demands labour. He who seeks a cure that it may be a sinecure, or a benefice which shall be a benefit to himself alone—who expects to find the ministry a couch of repose instead of a field for toil—a bread-winner rather than a soul-saver by means of painful watchings, fastings, toils and prayers—has utterly mistaken its nature, and is unworthy of its honour. It is a stewardship, a husbandry, an edification, a ward, a warfare, demanding the untiring effort of the day and unslumbering vigilance of the night to fulfil its duties and secure its reward. It is well to remember that the slothful and the wicked servant are conjoined in the denunciation of the indignant master—‘Thou wicked and slothful servant!’

Where there may be sufficient lack of principle to prompt to indolence and self-indulgence, there are few communions which will not present the opportunity to the sluggish or sensual minister. But the Methodist mode of operations is better calculated than perhaps almost any other for checking human corruption when developing itself in this form. The ordinary amount of official duty required of the travelling preachers is enough to keep both the reluctant and the willing labourer fully employed.

And Mr. Wesley exacted no more of others than he cheerfully and systematically rendered himself, daily labour even to weariness being the habit of his life. A glance at his employment at some two or three periods of his career will dispel the mystery attending the marvellous productiveness of his pen, and multiplicity of his labours, but only to heighten our respect for the industry, perseverance, and conscientiousness of the saint and herald of mercy. On the voyage out to Georgia in the year 1733, his day was thus apportioned :—

‘We now began to be a little regular: from four in the morning till five, each of us used private prayer. From five to seven we read the Bible together, carefully comparing it with the writings of the earliest

ages. At seven we breakfasted : at eight were the public prayers. From nine to twelve learnt the languages, and instructed the children. At twelve we met to give an account to one another what we had done since our last meeting, and what we designed to do before our next. At one we dined. The time from dinner to four, we spent in reading to those of whom each of us had taken charge, or in speaking to them severally as need required. At four were the evening prayers ; when either the lesson was explained (as it always was in the morning), or the children were catechised and instructed before the congregation. From five to six we again used private prayer. From six to seven I read in our cabin to two or three of the passengers, of whom there were about eighty English on board, and each of my brethren to a few more in theirs. At seven I joined with the Germans in their public service ; while Mr. Ingham was reading between the decks to as many as desired to hear. At eight we met again to instruct and exhort one another. Between nine and ten we went to bed, where neither the roaring of the sea, nor the motion of the ship, could take away the refreshing sleep which God gave us.'

This it must be acknowledged was pretty close occupation in an ill-found transport, a hundred years ago, crowded with emigrants, and subject to every inconvenience. The gratuitous devotion of the young chaplain, when arrived at Savannah, to manifold labour, will be found to be equally worthy of our admiration :—

'On the Lord's day,' he writes in his Journal, 'the English service lasted from five to half-past six. The Italian with a few Vaudois began at nine. Next came service for the English, including the sermon with the holy communion, continued from half-past ten till about half-past twelve. The French service began at one. At two I catechised the children. About three began the English service. After this was ended I joined with as many as my largest room could hold, in reading, prayer, and singing praise. And about six the service of the Germans began, at which I was glad to be present, not as a teacher but as a learner.'

This is no artist's sketch of himself, hung up in his studio as a specimen of his skill, or poet's portrait prefixed to doggerel dithyrambs, with 'eye in a fine frenzy rolling,' to gratify personal vanity, or lure love-sick misses ; but the grave unvarnished report of a grave earnest man, who knew there was little to commend in it, for in doing his utmost he only did what was his duty to do. Yet was he the prince of missionaries, however humble his self-estimate might be, the prime apostle of Christendom since Luther ; his pre-eminent example too likely to be lost sight of in this missionary age, when the church, in the bustle of its present activities, has little time to cherish recollections of its past worthies, or to speculate with clearness on the shapes of its future calling and destiny. But in one sense he was more than an apostle. By miracle they

were

were qualified with the gift of tongues for missions to men of strange speech ; but Wesley did not shrink from the toil of acquiring language after language, in order to speak intelligibly on the subject of religion to foreigners. The Italian he acquired that he might minister to a few Vaudois ; the German, that he might converse with Moravians ; and the Spanish, for the benefit of some Jews amongst his parishioners. Such rare parts, and zeal, and perseverance, and learning, are seldom combined in any living man : we have never seen nor heard of any one like Wesley in the capacity and liking for labour ; we indulge, therefore, very slender hopes of encountering such a one in the remaining space of our pilgrimage. In our sober judgment, it were as sane to expect the buried majesty of Denmark to revisit the glimpses of the moon as hope to find all the conditions presented in John Wesley show themselves again in England. We may not look upon his like again. His labours in a particular department—that of preaching—astound from their magnitude ; although these, far from being the sum total of his occupations, were but a fraction of a vast whole, and a sample of the rest. During fifty-two years, according to his biographers, he generally delivered two sermons a-day, very frequently four or five. Calculating, therefore, at twice a-day, and allowing fifty sermons annually for extraordinary occasions, which is the lowest computation that can be made, the whole number in fifty-two years will be forty thousand four hundred and sixty. To these may be added an infinite number of exhortations to the societies after preaching, and other occasional meetings at which he assisted. Add to these his migrations and journeyings to and fro, and none can say that his life was not well filled up. In his younger days he travelled on horseback, and was a hard but unskilful rider. With a book held up before his eyes by both hands, and the rein dropped on the horse's neck, he often travelled as much as fifty, sixty, or even seventy miles a-day ; from the quickness of his pace and unguardedness of his horsemanship, endangering his own and the good steed's limbs by frequent falls. At a later period he used a carriage. Of his travels the lowest calculation we can make is four thousand miles annually, which in fifty-two years will give two hundred and eight thousand miles ; that is, if he had ridden eight times round the globe on which we dwell, he would have had a handsome surplus of miles remaining to have done his achievement into Irish measure. Of the salutary effect of these abundant labours upon his frame we have his personal testimony at a very advanced age. His was a 'cruda viridisque senectus' to the last, and he himself a memorable instance of the worth of the OPEN-AIR-AND-HARD-WORK-CURE, a process of more certain value and ready application at all times than hydro-

pathy, homœopathy, or any of the thousand quackeries of the present day. On his attaining his eighty-fifth year, he enters the following reflections in his journal :—

‘ I this day enter on my eighty-fifth year ; and what cause have I to praise God, as for a thousand spiritual blessings, so for bodily blessings also ! How little have I suffered yet by “ the rust of numerous years ? ” It is true I am not so agile as in time past : I do not run or walk so fast as I did ; my sight is a little decayed ; my left eye is grown dim, and hardly serves me to read. I have daily some pain in the ball of my right eye, as also in my right temple (occasioned by a blow I received some time since), and in my right shoulder and arm, which I impute partly to a sprain and partly to the rheumatism. I find, likewise, some decay in the memory, with regard to names and things lately past ; but not at all with regard to what I have read or heard twenty, forty, or sixty years ago. Neither do I find any decay in my hearing, smell, taste, or appetite (though I want but a third part of the food I once did), nor do I feel any such thing as weariness either in travelling or preaching. And I am not conscious of any decay in writing sermons ; which I do as readily, and I believe as correctly, as ever.

‘ To what cause am I to impute this, that I am as I am ? First, doubtless, to the power of God, fitting me for the work to which I am called, as long as he pleases to continue me therein ; and next, subordinatedly to this, to the prayers of his children. May we not impute it, as inferior means, 1. To my constant exercise and change of air ? 2. To my never having lost a night’s sleep, sick or well, at land or sea, since I was born ? 3. To my having sleep at command, so that, whenever I feel myself almost worn out, I call it, and it comes, day or night ? 4. To my having constantly, for above sixty years, risen at four in the morning ? 5. To my constant preaching at five in the morning, for above fifty years ? 6. To my having had so little pain in my life, and so little sorrow or anxious care ? Even now, though I find pain daily in my eye, temple, or arm, yet it is never violent, and seldom lasts many minutes at a time.

‘ Whether or not this is sent to give me warning that I am shortly to quit this tabernacle I do not know ; but be it one way or the other I have only to say—

“ My remnant of days
I spend to his praise,
Who died the whole world to redeem ;
Be they many or few
My days are his due,
And they all are devoted to him ! ” ’

We shall not complete the picture of John Wesley ‘ the aged,’ unless we draw upon Mr. Alexander Knox, the accomplished correspondent and faithful friend of Bishop Jebb, who furnishes us with the following portrait of his venerable acquaintance :—

‘ Very

‘Very lately I had an opportunity for some days together of observing Mr. Wesley with attention. I endeavoured to consider him not so much with the eye of a friend, as with the impartiality of a philosopher; and I must declare every hour I spent in his company afforded me fresh reasons for esteem and veneration. So fine an old man I never saw. The happiness of his mind beamed forth in his countenance; every look showed how fully he enjoyed “the gay remembrance of a life well spent;” and wherever he went he diffused a portion of his own felicity. Easy and affable in his demeanour, he accommodated himself to every sort of company, and showed how happily the most finished courtesy may be blended with the most perfect piety. In his conversation we might be at a loss whether to admire most his fine classical taste, his knowledge of men and things, or his own overflowing goodness of heart. While the grave and serious were charmed with his wisdom, his sportive sallies of innocent mirth delighted even the young and thoughtless; and both saw, in his uninterrupted cheerfulness, the excellency of true religion. No cynical remarks on the levity of youth imbibed his discourse; no applausive retrospect to past times marked his present discontent. In him even old age appeared delightful, like an evening without a cloud; and it was impossible to observe him without wishing fervently

“May my latter end be like his!”

After the view we have presented of the life and labours of our hero, it may be almost superfluous to attempt a delineation of his character. As we recollect, however, something like a promise to this effect when we began our labours, we cannot quit ourselves of our obligation without touching upon this head. To enter upon its minute analysis, or seek to delineate it in its more subtle lines or delicate shades, our purpose forbids. The time and space would be wanting, while there is no lack of liking for the task. We shall therefore confine our further remarks to an illustration of what we conceive to be the leading traits of John Wesley’s character, never so specified that we are aware of before, yet lying so palpably on the surface, that they have only to be named to be recognized. Without the pre-eminent qualities in question, no one was ever great and good; and as we have no scruple in calling him great and good beyond easy comparison, so are these qualities to be found developed in him to an unusual degree. They made him what he became, the successful reformer of his age, and one of England’s noblest worthies, while his system will make him a benefactor to millions yet unborn.

The distinctive features of character we unhesitatingly ascribe to him, are an indomitable firmness, and a boundless benevolence. John Wesley was a man in a singular measure *tenax propositi*. Where he thought himself certainly right nothing on earth could move him. In all such cases this quality is a great virtue, but in

cases of a different complexion it is a great fault. In questions of doubtful propriety and prudence it will bear the ugly names of obstinacy and self-will. But stigmatise it as we please there never was a great man without a strong will, and an infusion of self-reliance sufficient to raise him above the dauntings of opposition and reliance upon props. It is a heritable quality, as transmissible from father to son, as the sage or 'foolish face.' Wesley certainly derived it from his parents. The daughter of the eminent non-conformist rector of Cripplegate, Dr. Annesley, who at thirteen years of age had studied the state church controversy, and made up her mind, with force of reason too, to condemn her father's decision, and take her place for life on the other side, cannot be supposed to have been wanting in firmness; who, further, would never renounce her Jacobite respect for the *jus divinum* of the Stuart kings, nor say amen to her husband's prayers for him of the Revolution, nor bow beneath the thousand ills of her married life, and pursued the onward, even, and unwearying tenor of her way, undismayed by censure, uncrushed by poverty and domestic cares, unchanging and unchanged to the last, could not be wanting in it. Nor was the sire less endowed with it, though there was more of petulance and human passion in its display in him. The man whose whole life was a perpetual struggle with circumstances and war with opinions, and a series of ill-rewarded efforts—the wight who stole away from the dissenting academy, whence they sohoed him in vain, and without consulting friend or relative, tramped it to Oxford, and entered himself a penniless servitor; who afterwards, a right loyal but very threadbare clergyman, rode off in a huff from his wife, nor rejoined her for a twelvemonth, till the death of King William released him from his sturdily kept but unrighteous vow—who 'fought with wild beasts,' for high church of the highest order, and shrank from no cuffs he caught in such a cause; and who, when his 'Job' was consumed in the fire that burnt his parsonage, sat down to renew the labour of years, and re-compose and re-write his learned Latin folio:—these are so many indications of indomitable firmness, that we should be blind as moles to overlook its presence in his character. John Wesley had the same unbending sinew. He too was made of stern unpliant stuff, and to drive the Tiber back to its sources were as easy a task as to turn him back from a course deliberately chosen with the approval of his judgment. Opponents, strong and numerous enough, he had to encounter, to justify concession, had he been so disposed, nor was reason always so visibly on his side but he might have paused. We shall name an occasion or two such as rarely occur in the life of a good man, which signalised the lordliness of his will, and proved him to be endowed with a rare

determination. We omit the ridicule and minor persecutions provoked by the religious singularities of his early career, as not sufficient to turn even an aspen-minded man who had any earnest devotion about him, from his way, and note his first most trying decision, that by which he was led to renounce his father's living.

Shortly before his father's decease it occurred to the head of the family, looking anxiously forward to its fortunes, and those of his parish, how desirable it would be that his son John should succeed him in his cure, at once for the perpetuation of the religious care he had exercised over his parishioners, and that his wife and daughters might retain their accustomed home at the parsonage. Here was every consideration to move a susceptible man, regard for souls, veneration for a parent in the ministry, respect for hoar hairs grown grey in the service of the church, and Christian and family ties of more than ordinary strength, all put before him in a strain of uncommon force and pathos by his father in his final appeal. Thus wrote the aged father to his son at Oxford :—

‘ Thus is the case before us : put all the circumstances together : if you are not indifferent whether the labours of an aged father, for above forty years in God's vineyard be lost, and the fences of it trodden down and destroyed ; if you consider that Mr. W. must in all probability succeed me if you do not, and that the prospect of that mighty Nimrod's coming hither shocks my soul, and is in a fair way of bringing down my grey hairs with sorrow to the grave ;—if you have any care for our family, which must be dismally shattered as soon as I am dropt—if you reflect on the dear love and longing which this poor people has for you, whereby you will be enabled to do God the more service, and the plenteousness of the harvest, consisting of near two thousand souls, whereas you have not many more souls in the University—you may perhaps alter your mind, and bend your will to His, who has promised if in all our ways we acknowledge Him, he will direct our paths.’

We do not profess to be ourselves the rock fortress that could have withstood such artillery as this. We incline to fear that the red hot shot of arguments like these must have fired our magazine and blown up our defences. But none of these things moved our hero. He was devout, affectionate, and filial, but firm ; so notoriously so, that his elder brother Samuel, writing to him on the subject in December, 1734, says : ‘ Yesterday I received a letter from my father, wherein he tells me you are unalterably resolved not to accept of a certain living if you could get it. After this declaration I believe no one can move your mind but Him who made it.’ The question was, in fact, decided, and he was not to be shaken from his determination, the ground of decision being not the comparative merits of Epworth and Oxford, as fields of usefulness, but something

thing more exclusively personal. He felt as many a man in earnest about salvation has felt before and since, that the care of his own soul is of prime importance, and must be especially regarded in every measure we adopt; that the neglect of self is ill compensated by saving benefit to others, or any advantage of an earthly kind. For reasons given with great length and clearness, in a letter to his father, he concluded a continued residence at Oxford essential to his soul's peace and welfare. 'The point is,' he says, 'whether I shall or shall not work out my salvation, whether I shall serve Christ or Belial.' The semi-monastic life of the university was essential to the very life of piety in his heart according to his views at that juncture, therefore Epworth, with its long list of prudential make-weights, kicked the beam.

And Wesley was humanly right. His personal relation to eternity outweighed all other considerations to his awakened soul. He felt, as few men feel, how solemn a thing it is to die. His resolution was based upon the sentiment of his own hymn in after days :

‘ A charge to keep I have,
A God to glorify,
A never dying soul to save,
And fit it for the sky.’

And Wesley was divinely right. If ever the Spirit of God had to do with the moral movements of men, its operation is discernible in this case. It was of infinite moment to the world that Wesley's decision should have been what it was, and of equal moment to his own peace of conscience that it should have been correct. The mode in which he viewed the question, sets him right in the court of conscience, and the results that followed justified his decision. His father would have involved him in a maze of nice casuistry—puzzled him by a complex tangle of motives and influences—but wiser than he, and more free from bias, the son looks at it in the simple, proper light, that of duty, and gives utterance to the following sentiments, which are sublimely true :

‘ I do not say that the glory of God is to be my first, or my principal consideration, but my only one : since all that are not implied in this are absolutely of no weight ; in presence of this they all vanish away, they are less than the small dust of the balance. And indeed till all other considerations were set aside, I could never come to any clear determination ; till my eye was single my whole body was full of darkness. Every consideration distinct from this threw a shadow over all the objects I had in view, and was such a cloud as no light could penetrate. Whereas so long as I can keep my eye single, and steadily fixed on the glory of God, I have no more doubt of the way wherein I should go, than of the shining of the sun at noon-day.’

Well

Well said, clear head, and stoutly done, brave heart, though there were natural yearnings and fond misgivings in thy way ! In questions of duty thou didst clearly see duty alone is to be consulted. Thou didst not confer with flesh and blood ; these had crushed thy conscience and warped thy will, and reversed thy decision. Thou didst take the matter to the infallible oracle, Him that sitteth upon the throne ; like Hezekiah thou didst lay it upon the altar of the Most High, and tremulously say, ‘ that which I know not teach thou me,’ and thou wert rewarded with a divine intimation, ‘ This is the way !’ Thou didst thus hate thy father and thy mother, and thy house, and take up thy cross for Christ’s sake and the Gospel’s ; but thy more than natural, thy Christian firmness, reaped its recompense even here, for thou receivedst a hundredfold now, even in this time, houses and brethren, and sisters and mothers, and children, and long since, in Heaven, eternal life. Stoic fortitude, Roman daring, hide your heads before such firmness as this. Epictetus is a jest, and Regulus, ‘ *egregius exul*,’ a fable, when compared with this plain narrative of modern heroism. Here, however, was one of the leading features of John Wesley’s character, broadly portrayed, deeply coloured, boldly thrown up from the canvas, and giving happy omen of his future career.

The firmness which marked his decision here, the same which forbade discouragement and retractation at Oxford, where, after a short absence, he found his flock of twenty-seven persons reduced to five, and which made him resist the authorities at Georgia, was peculiarly shown in his relations to the Church of England throughout his life. In the line of remarks this topic opens, we shall describe simply the facts of the case, and neither apologise for Wesley nor condemn the Church. He was never a Dissenter in his own view of the word, and never wished his followers to be. Nevertheless there is a prevailing order in the proceedings of every community, and this order, in his own Church, he did not hesitate to disturb, at the instance of what he deemed sufficiently valid reasons. Whatever his followers may urge in defence of his measures, they were obviously at odds with ecclesiastical order. We have a very remarkable conversation of John Wesley with the Bishop of Bristol, in the year 1739, on the subject of justification by faith, in which, after disposing of that topic, Wesley’s proceedings are canvassed in the terms we shall presently cite, the whole going in proof of two things, the one how careful he was in the outset of his career to encroach as little as possible upon canonical order, and the other, that at the call of apprehended duty he was prepared to go any lengths in violation of it.

‘ The Bishop says : “ Mr. Wesley, I will deal plainly with you ; I

once

once thought you and Mr. Whitefield well-meaning men, but I cannot think so now. For I have heard more of you; matters of fact.”—

* * * * *

Mr. Wesley.—“Pray my Lord, what are those facts you have heard?”

Bishop.—“I hear you administer the sacrament in your societies.”

Mr. W.—“My Lord, I never did yet, and believe never shall.”

Bishop.—“I hear too, many people fall into fits in your societies, and that you pray over them.”

Mr. W.—“I do so, my Lord, when any show, by strong cries and tears, that their soul is in deep anguish; I frequently pray to God to deliver them from it, and our prayer is often heard in that hour.”

Bishop.—“Very extraordinary indeed! Well, Sir, since you ask my advice, I will give it you very freely. You have no business here. You are not commissioned to preach in this diocese. Therefore I advise you to go hence.”

Mr. W.—“My Lord, my business on earth is to do what good I can. Wherever, therefore, I think I do most good, there must I stay so long as I think so. At present I think I can do most good here; therefore here I stay. As to my preaching here, a dispensation of the Gospel is committed to me, and woe is me if I preach not the Gospel, wherever I am in the habitable world. Your Lordship knows, being ordained a priest, by the commission I then received I am a priest of the Church Universal; and being ordained a fellow of a college, I was not limited to any particular cure, but have an indeterminate commission to preach the word of God in any part of the Church of England. I do not, therefore, conceive that in preaching here by this commission I break any human law. When I am convinced I do, then it will be time to ask, shall I obey God or man? But if I should be convinced in the meanwhile, that I could advance the glory of God, and the salvation of souls, in any other place more than in Bristol, in that hour, by God’s help, I will go hence, which, till then, I may not.”

Whatever the effect of this dainty speech upon the equanimity of the good bishop, the other party was doubtless as calm as men of strong will and fixed determination usually are, and as respectful as his punctilious courtesy would constrain him to be. The incident was John Wesley to the life, and laid open with sufficient clearness the terms upon which his co-operation with the establishment was to be retained. They were just these. If I am allowed to combat the prevailing vices of the land, the ignorance, irreligion, semibarbarism, and brutality in my own way, irregular it may be, but desperate cases require desperate remedies, and if you, clergy and bishops, will undertake to feed and watch over the restored wanderers I bring back to the fold;—or if you will not do so much as this, but will simply *not oppose* the measures I employ to do good—why thus and then I am yours,

yours, unreservedly and entirely yours : but if you malign and thwart and persecute an earnest brother who would help you to do your work, and whose heart bleeds over the perishing souls of his fellow creatures, why then be it known to you, that by a commission higher than that of the Archbishop of Canterbury, I am authorised and determined to persevere. Souls must be awakened, converted, saved ; if in connexion with the church of my adoption, covered with its shield and sanction, well ; but if not, the work must be done at all hazards. And this is the language of all his further acts of disconformity to the existing order of things in the Establishment. He never contemplated the formation of a sect, much less of an enemy or rival to the Church of England. A sect nevertheless grew up by stress of circumstances, frowned upon and thrown off by its mother, yet clinging with natural fondness to the parent who still disowns it, and with that sect he feared not in evil and in good repute to identify himself. Crossed in his course by those authorities he would fain have conciliated, and of whom he never allowed himself to speak evil, he would not be turned from it. His mind was made up. Opposition wrought the contrary way with him. Pressure did but confirm his resolution as it hardens concrete. His parish was the world. He would not provoke enmity. He would not give offence ; but he would call no man master to the enslavement of his opinions or the fettering of his free action. He had a divine master, and to Him alone would he refer his conduct,—to Him alone stand or fall.

The history of Wesley's relations to the Established Church is traced with elaborate skill in a series of papers in the ' Wesleyan Methodist Magazine ' for 1829, to which we must refer our readers, and one sentence alone from which we will extract :— ' While his attachment to the Church was truly conscientious, equally so was his determination to innovate as Providence should direct him. His language equally with his actions indicated the self-impelling convictions of the Reformer.' This is just the philosophy of the case as clearly put by the author, and felt by Mr. Wesley. But so completely had the venerable leader of the movement habituated himself to the independent action of his society that nothing could have been more in accordance with the current of his life, principles, and anticipations (see ' Minutes of Conference ' for 1744), nor more certainly have secured his approval, than the distinctive position this body has since taken up, neither controlled by the Church of England, nor hostile to it. That body seems to have embodied in the happiest way the spirit and pattern of its founder, when it defined its general policy towards the Establishment in the following terms :—

“ Methodism

‘Methodism exists in a friendly relation with the Establishment. In all its official writings and sanctioned publications, though often called to defend itself against intemperate clergymen, it treats the Church itself with respect and veneration, and cordially rejoices in the advance of its religious character and legitimate moral influence.’

In the unbending firmness of our hero we see much of the gracious man,—the man whose heart is established with grace, but we see also in it largely the man John Wesley. We fancy we perceive in it no less somewhat of the sturdiness of the national character. John Bull will not be badgered and brow-beaten any more than he will be coaxed and cajoled into what his strong determination opposes; and Wesley in his nervous English, his practical wisdom, his steady good sense, and his unconquerable will displayed some of the most respectable and salient points of the Saxon character, belonging by unmistakable evidence to that family of the Bulls, which notwithstanding all its faults has no few qualities to admire. There is in his rigid firmness moreover something of his puritan ancestry, one point at least in which Bishop Warburton was right. His blood was vitiated with their stubborn humour, if it be a vice. He belonged to the tribe of Ishmael by both father’s and mother’s side at a single remove, and he could not be expected to turn out other than he did. But we pause; John Wesley was frank, generous, open, simple as a child, confiding, plastic and persuasive where a man had right upon his side, but where himself was right he was positive—to a fault?—no, to perfection; and it had been a less miracle to move a mountain into the sea than to move him from his purpose. This goes far to explain the man and his work. To no one was Regent Murray’s saying at the grave of John Knox ever more applicable than to our intrepid modern John:—

‘There lies one who never feared the face of man.’

Unbounded benevolence was another leading *trait* in his character. This was the basis of his life, the spring of his self-denial and his labours. A recluse at Oxford, musty folios and metaphysics could not extinguish the smouldering fire within—

‘He thought as a sage, but he felt as a man.’

Afterwards the fire burst forth; he kindled as he flew over the world, a flaming seraph of mercy to mankind.

At the University his benevolence led him into frightful prisons and condemned cells, into hospital and lazaret-house, from the society of the common-room and beloved books to converse with felons and miserable sufferers. It curtailed his bread and his dress,

dress, it debarred him of the comfort of a well-shorn head, it led to a course of self-sacrifice and effort for the benefit of the wretched and the sinful, which put his sincerity sorely to the test, and lasted with his life. His heart bled for the world; he saw sin bursting out in blotches of sorrow all over the face of society, and he longed to purify, console, and heal. He could not look upon men drawn unto death and ready to be slain without attempting their rescue. He saw no hope for their bodies or their souls but in the labours and voluntary gifts of Christians for their salvation. He felt for their fate, but, eminently practical, he felt in bed and board, in clothing and comfort. His was sumptuary sensibility more than tearful, active compassion rather than passive. Merely because more easy of illustration, and not for a moment putting it in comparison with the ardour of his soul to do good we adduce his monetary benevolence in proof of our point—a benevolence which would give all, do all, reserve nothing, provided it could but win a revenue of glory to God and happiness to wretched men. Never did any man part with money more freely. His charities knew no limit but his means. He gave away all that he had beyond bare provision for his present wants. He began this procedure early, and never left off till he had done with earth. In his first year at college he received 30*l.*, and making 28*l.* suffice for his necessities he gave away in charities 40*s.* The next year he received 60*l.*, but still making 28*l.* meet his expenditure, he gave away 32*l.* The third year he received 90*l.* and gave away 62*l.* His receipts in the fourth year increased by the same sum as before, and out of 120*l.* he gave away all but his primitive 28*l.* And thus he acted through life, having given away in charities, it is believed, as much as 30,000*l.*, without a moment's thought for himself, his hands open as day, his heart the dwelling place of kindness. His generous and unstinted liberality finds its most convincing proof in his circumstances at death. He had often and publicly declared that his own hands should be his executors, and that if he died worth 10*l.* beyond the value of his books and other inconsiderable items, he would give the world leave to call him a thief and a robber. He made all he could, and his publications were numerous and profitable; he saved all he could, not wasting so much as a sheet of paper; and then he gave all he could, with an angel's sublime disregard of gold and silver and the wealth the world sets such store by. The notion that he must be enriching himself prevailed even among those who ought to have known better. Need we wonder then that he received a letter from the Board of Excise telling him that the Commissioners could not doubt but that he had plate of which he had neglected to make entry, and requiring him immediately

immediately to send a proper return. The following was his answer :—‘ Sir, I have two silver teaspoons at London, and two at Bristol ; this is all the plate which I have at present ; and I shall not buy any more while so many around me want bread. Your obedient servant, JOHN WESLEY.’ His chaise and horses, his clothes, and a few trifles of that kind, were all, his books excepted, that he left at his death. Thus he laid not up treasure upon earth, but in heaven, a good foundation against the time to come, that he might lay hold upon eternal life. Free from the love of money and the impulse of ambition, the two most ordinary motives of action among civilized men, what powerful principle sustained him in his life-long career of labour and endurance, self-denial and responsibility ? One that never entered into the calculation of his unfriendly critics and biographers—a strong sense of duty springing from love to God. The stanza of the hymn so much upon his lips on his dying bed is the key that unlocks his heart, that opens up the mystery of a life otherwise inexplicable :—

‘ I’ll praise my Maker while I’ve breath,
And when my voice is lost in death
Praise shall employ my noblest powers :
My days of praise shall ne’er be past,
While life and thought and being last
Or immortality endures.’

And when the daughters of music were brought low, and the death rattle was heard in his throat, when lip and limb were alike stiffening in the paralysis and collapse of death, the last feeble effort of his voice was put forth in syllabling

‘ I’ll praise—I’ll praise.’

Thus died John Wesley,—an end in harmony with his life. Our Euthanasia shapes itself into resemblance to his dismissal :—‘ Let me die the death of the righteous and let my last end be like his !’

But we cannot leave our subject even here without adverting to one of the finest forms in which the benevolence of this great man showed itself—one of the finest forms in fact which it can assume amid the war of parties and clash of religious discord—namely his enlarged charity toward religionists of every name. We believe there is no instance on record in which he was the assailant, and that it was only when covered with the blackest aspersions affecting his character and creed that he came forth to make his modest and in most cases convincing apologies. The unmeasured invectives of many a Thersites both in the church and in the world he met with the philosophic gentleness and gravity

gravity of a Ulysses. He seldom forgot in the heat of polemics what was due to himself as a gentleman, a scholar, and a Christian.

His Catholicity is seen in the constant object of his labours, which was not to raise a new sect among other sects, but to revive the languid spirit of religion in all, and especially in his own beloved church. That ever his work and people took another direction was not owing to any crafty scheme, long a hatching in his own bosom, but to the bent of circumstances and the preference of the people themselves. He gave no countenance to proselytism, and deprecated at least the name of separation. He never put his peculiar views above the fundamentals of the faith; nor where the differences were the greatest between himself and others did he for a moment forget that 'Charity which is the bond of perfectness.' He believed that a strong vein of piety ran through the life and death of many Romanists, the monks of La Trappe and Ignatius Loyola himself. He believed that Pelagius, the Montanists, and other early heretics as they are called, might be wise and holy men despite their ignominious reputation; and while he vindicates the orthodoxy of Michael Servetus has, in the same breath, a word of commendation for John Calvin: 'I believe that Calvin was a great instrument of God; and that he was a wise and pious man.' His enlarged charity deemed the heathen capable of eternal life, and opened heaven even to the brute creation. Wesley was a man to be loved. In these speculative views he may have been right or wrong; but they are an index to his soul, and prove that whatever else he may have been he was certainly not a narrow sectarist, nor a cruel bigot. In all the atlases in his library there was not one little map devoted to a Methodist heaven. The distinctive point of his Arminian creed, that redemption is for the world, proves him to have been a person of large, generous, all-comprehending sympathy and love. His sentiments on ecclesiastical controversy are so apposite, that we must do ourselves the pleasure of adducing them:—

'We may die without the knowledge of many truths, and yet be carried into Abraham's bosom; but if we die without love what will knowledge avail? just as much as it avails the devil and his angels! I will not quarrel with you about any opinion; only see that your heart be right towards God, that you know and love the Lord Jesus Christ, that you love your neighbour, and walk as your Master walked, and I desire no more. I am sick of opinions; I am weary to bear them; my soul loathes this frothy food. Give me solid and substantial religion: give me a humble and gentle lover of God and man, a man full of mercy and good fruits, without partiality and without hypocrisy; a man laying

laying himself out in the work of faith, the patience of hope, the labour of love. Let my soul be with these Christians, wheresoever they are, and whatsoever opinion they are of. "Whosoever *thus* doth the will of my Father which is in heaven, the same is my brother and sister and mother."

And we add, capping this declaration with our heart's heartiest approval, let every one that readeth this say Amen. We regret that our space will not allow us to transfer to our pages the fine anecdote of the casual interview between the venerable Charles Simeon, then a young Calvinistic clergyman, and the aged apostle of Methodism, so creditable to the wisdom and piety of both. Our readers who may not be acquainted with it are referred to the memoir of Simeon by Carus.

Unlike many, unlike most enduring celebrities, Wesley was successful, popular, appreciated during his lifetime, nor had to wait for posthumous praise. This was doubtless owing in part to the practical bent his genius took, which was calculated to win popular regard, but also to the unequalled excellence he displayed in the line he had chosen. The man who was known to have travelled more miles, preached more sermons, and published more books than any traveller, preacher, author, since the days of the apostles, must have had much to claim the admiration and respect of his contemporaries. The man who exhibited the greatest disinterestedness all his life through, who has exercised the widest influence on the religious world, who has established the most numerous sect, invented the most efficient system of church polity, who has compiled the best book of sacred song, and who has thus not only chosen eminent walks of usefulness, but in every one of them claims the first place, deserved to be regarded by them and by posterity as no common man. A greater poet may rise than Homer or Milton, a greater theologian than Calvin, a greater philosopher than Bacon or Newton, a greater dramatist than any of ancient or modern fame, but a more distinguished revivalist of the churches, minister of the sanctuary, believer of the truth, and blessing to souls, than John Wesley—never. There was in his consummate nature that exquisite balance of power and will, that perfect blending of the moral, intellectual, and physical, which forms the *ne plus ultra* of ministerial ability and service. In the firmament in which he was lodged he shone and shines 'the bright particular star,' beyond comparison, as he is without a rival.

But had not the subject of our sketch his failings? Of course he had; but it is not our business to discuss them now. Had we not possessed acuteness enough to detect them ourselves, to say that we were familiar with Bishop Lavington's shrewd, humorous, and

and thoroughly clever book, with all the added venom of Polwhele's annotations, would be quite enough to show that few faulty features of his proceedings had escaped our notice. We admit that he was an enthusiast, but only to the degree in which a man more than ordinarily filled with the Holy Ghost would be an enthusiast. We allow that he was fanatical at times; but this only amounts to the confession that he had some taint of human infirmity, cleaving to a nature in the main noble, self-possessed, and wise. We put our finger on one instance of fanaticism;—the ordination of some of his ministers by the Greek bishop Erastus, a person of questionable pretensions, and who, not knowing one word of English, performed the service in Greek, an unedifying rite. But fanaticism is confined to no period. This finds its parallel in our days. On the 'first day of the present year,' writes an American missionary from Constantinople, 'a religious service was held, in which Greeks, Armenians, Hebrews, Italians,' and English sang at the same time, to the same tune, *in their different tongues*, a hymn of praise, to the great delight of those who shared in the medley, and to the seeming approval of all the religious publications which have recorded the occurrence. To ourselves it always seemed an instance of gross fanaticism and folly. It is not reasonable, therefore not right. The fanaticism of John Wesley rarely went beyond this. His faith in humanity was so great that anything man would aver he would receive. Some absurdities were sure to spring from so capacious a belief; and having nothing to suspect in himself, he never suspected others. He was perhaps the only public man that ever lived of whom it could be said, he habitually formed too favourable an opinion of those about him. The consequences were sometimes annoying, but the cause was a virtue, not a blemish. His greatness was so tempered with goodness—his nature, so sturdy and conscientious, was nevertheless so overlaid with an unslumbering genial godlike sympathy for his race—a golden thread of pervading kindness runs so unbrokenly through his life—that no one who can appreciate the force of rare ability, combined with a spotless character and sweetness of disposition, can wonder how he became so early a celebrity—

Οὐ τὸ μυρίον κλέος
Διήλθε κ' ἔτι νύκτα καὶ πρὸς ἄω,

and that his name is now the symbol of all that is holy and just and good. Say, gentle reader, as you pass his tomb, in the language of the Sicilian muse—

Χαίρετω οὗτος ὁ τύμβος . . . ἐπεὶ
Κεῖται τῆς ἱερῆς κόφης ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς.

FINE ART AMONG THE JEWS.

By the Rev. JOHN SMYTHE MEMES, LL.D., F.A.S.L.,

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THE patriarchal families grew into a people and a nation amidst the highest civilization of the ancient world. Joseph commenced his Egyptian servitude, almost immediately afterward to assume the most brilliant position under the throne, in the thirty-fourth year of Osirtasen I., of the sixteenth or Tanitic dynasty. The connection of the Jewish race with Egypt thus began by constant residence nearly seventeen centuries before the present era. This truly great man died in the first or second year of the reign of Osirtasen III., of the Memphitic line of kings, B.C. 1635. During a period of nearly seventy years he had thus enjoyed the confidence of at least four of the sovereigns of the most enlightened and best ordered kingdom then—or perhaps in some respects even now—existing on the earth. The advantages thus procured for the advancement of his own countrymen by facility of access to the knowledge of art and refinement did not altogether cease on the demise of Joseph. For the space of sixty years longer of uninterrupted tranquillity the Israelites continued to enjoy that protection and those opportunities originally obtained through the prudence of their powerful and respected patron.*

The period of quiet having elapsed, 'there arose up,' to quote the words of the sacred record, 'a new king which knew not Joseph.' The expression is remarkable. Monuments, however, coeval with the events, vindicate here the accuracy of a passage about the meaning of which the commentators and critics of the last age have recorded much unnecessary discussion.^b From the unquestionable monumental sources just indicated the ingenuity and research of our own age enable us to decide that this 'new king' of Scripture was Ames, the first of the eighteenth or Theban dynasty, by whom the more ancient line of Egyptian monarchs had been displaced. With this revolution commences the history of the book of Exodus, and the 'sore bondage' of the children of

* See Rosellini, Wilkinson, and especially Hengstenberg, *Egypt and the Books of Moses*, p. 22, 8vo. ed.

^b See Patrick *On the Pentateuch*, ed. folio, 1738, p. 170. Fagius, Grotius, Drusius, and Munster are the original authorities on the point. See also Clarus and Vatabler's *Annot. in Libros Can. Vet. Test.*

Israel. During the succeeding interval of eighty-four years, though 'made to serve with rigour,' the people of God 'multiplied and waxed very mighty.' At length, mindful of His promises to their forefathers, Jehovah interposed for their deliverance. With 'a mighty hand' he brought them out in the beginning of the reign of Thotmes III., sixth prince of the Theban or Diospolitan line, the Pharaoh of the Mosaic writings. This occurred in the year 1491 B.C., after a sojourn in Egypt, counting from Joseph's captivity, of exactly 215 years; or reckoning, as seems to be the case in the Gospel history, from the arrival of Abraham, after an intercourse of 430 years with that primeval seat of art.^c

From these facts and dates is derived one grand inference most important to our present inquiry. No people, we thus learn, ever enjoyed more favourable opportunity not only of acquiring a taste for the *Fine Arts*, but also for attaining eminence in their cultivation, than the Jews. It is evident from the inscriptions still existing on monuments of that period, which, after thousands of years of silence, modern learning has once more made vocal, that Israel dwelt in Egypt, and even laboured on her public works at the time when some of the grandest and most beautiful edifices in the valley of Nile were constructed. It is true that during a considerable portion of their stay the descendants of Abraham dwelt in 'the house of bondage,' while art has ever been the nurseling of liberty. But when they had recovered their freedom, they thus started in the career of refinement with a knowledge of principles and an experience in practice elsewhere without a parallel. If, then, it be subsequently found that an adequate improvement is wanting, this can only be explained on the ground, so clearly obtained from Scripture, that all other interests were made to subserve the one great purpose of separating a peculiar people 'holy unto the Lord.' At the same time satisfactory explanation is thus afforded of whatever resemblances or analogies may occur between the arts of Egypt and the outward appointments of the sacred and inspired ritual of the Bible.

The history of the Fine Arts among the 'chosen people' seems thus to commence at so early a period in their annals, and under auspices so favourable, compared with the condition of other nations among which they have flourished, as ought to have conducted to highest excellence in the cultivation of taste. The actual result, however, is the very opposite. Never in any civilised community has artistic genius either exercised so little influence over living manners, or bequeathed remains so meagre for

^c Rosellini, *Monum. dell' Egitto*, fol. 1832; Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. i.; Champollion; and Bunsen's admirable *Egypt's Place*, &c., vol. i.

the admiration or guidance of posterity, as among the Jews. On a hasty and casual, or even on a first and somewhat deliberate estimate of the subject, how little prepared are we for such a conclusion! Before he has methodized and valued his materials, the Christian, familiar on other points with the inestimable treasures of the sacred volume, is apt to conceive himself in a position completely to make out all details in the labours of Moses, the erections of Solomon, or the restorations of Herod. Those even of the learned who have not particularly directed attention to matters of biblical art may imagine the chapters in Exodus or Kings, and the exaggerated comments of Josephus, equally explicit as the descriptive accuracy of Pausanias, the critical elegance of Pliny, or the scientific canons of Vitruvius.^d It is only when we begin to arrange and realize, when we attempt to elicit principles and substantiate practice, that we experience the difference between precepts illustrated by examples and established in the very nature of things, and descriptions without monuments or fixed science. Such respectively are the conditions of classic art, with its didactic records and exquisite remains, and the solemn but—for human hand—unpreceptive accounts which we possess relative to the forms and results of perished art among the Jews.

‘Time was *Thou* stoodst alone, within thy courts,
 Temple of God! and in thine ample circuit,
 What various habits, various tongues beset
 The golden gates, for prayer and sacrifice!
 All silent now, and Zion’s holy place
 Trodden under foot, and mingled dust with dust.’

Notwithstanding, however, these many difficulties by which it is beset, there are various encouragements to prosecute the subject of Jewish art. Even as a section, and far from an uninteresting portion, of biblical illustration, a review of what may here be known can hardly fail, even though very imperfectly executed, of producing useful results.

The subject naturally resolves itself into two distinct inquiries. To the first of these the present communication will be confined, because on the fulness of the details which it embraces depends the clearness of leading principles in the succeeding views.

I. The origin of Jewish Art and derivation of its types.

II. Sacred and National Art among the Jews from the Sanctuary to the Temple and its Restorations.

I. The periods of time comprehended in these divisions respectively appear at first sight to be very unequal, but this inequality

^d See Pausanias, *Ἑλλάδος Περιηγησις*, passim; Plinii Secundi, *Hist. Nat.*, libri 33-37; Vit. Pol., pass., sed preser. lib. 5-7.

is by no means so great in truth as in seeming. Though the works actually to be examined in this communication be few, limited, indeed, chiefly to the great sin of 'the sojourners of the desert,' yet the principles concerned will extend our retrospections far backwards into the bygone antiquity; for here we are to consider the situation, character, and resources of a whole people residing, as we have seen for centuries, in the heart of an enlightened empire, whose population were noted for skill in architecture, painting, and sculpture, as well as for the elegant application of these arts with their accessories to the comforts of domestic life and the splendours of public worship. Is it then at all reconcileable with the constitution of the human mind, or, indeed, consistent with the acknowledged facts of history, to maintain that the liberated Israelites came out from among their entertainers first, their 'task-masters' afterwards, unimpressed in imagination or uninstructed in hand by the civilization and the forms in the very centre of which they had so long lived, nay, in whose labours they had so often been employed? To assume this were not only altogether unphilosophical, but the instance would be without parallel. From this the reader will perceive that I consider the types of Jewish art to have been derived from Egypt. How, indeed, can any other conclusion be arrived at consistently with circumstances? In addition to the facts now stated, was not the leader of the emigrant tribes himself carefully brought up in all the learning of the Egyptians, and did he not give evident proof with others of the chief men of his nation that he was practically skilled in the mechanical arts of their former masters?

Here, however, we encounter a difficulty which, though more imaginary than real, must, from its consequences, be treated with all becoming reverence as well as the most guarded attention. The alleged difficulty lies in this: Moses declares that he received the *archetypes* of those works which he constructed in the wilderness by Divine inspiration, nay, that even in the details he was directed by spiritual instruction. Yet from his own description of those works which by their magnitude or dignity fall to be classed under the head of Fine Art, we cannot help suggestions constantly arising in the mind of their Egyptian original. How then is this assertion of a heavenly model to be reconciled with the suggested imitation of earthly examples?

Now that God would condescend to instruct his chosen servant as to the *idea* of those visible symbols which, for the first time, were to be employed in his own true and revealed worship, is most reasonable to believe. That the Almighty did so, in the manner described by Moses, there can be no question; but does this divine aid necessarily exclude all connection with past associations

ciations and former knowledge? By no means. Neither the veracity of the sacred narrative nor the conditions of the case require this exclusion of all previous, nay in some respects the only possible, practice. In all the Mosaic institutions of religious worship the one primary and grand object was to infuse, fix, and keep alive in the minds of the Israelites a just and noble apprehension of the spirituality and unity of Jehovah as the One only living and true God. For the accomplishment of this rational and holy purpose every past absurd and impious reminiscence of idol shapes or idolatrous service was to be completely and for ever obliterated from the imaginations of the Jewish people. How hard this task proved, and how deeply rooted 'the abomination of Egypt' had become in their minds, are melancholy facts sufficiently known. The sublime conception, in an age of utter darkness, that God is a Spirit to whom man approaches only by spiritual homage, and the carrying out this truth, amid such stubborn corruption, into a visible system of practical purity and holiness, which subordinated the arts to the glory of God's service, are of themselves among the highest proofs of that inspiration which instructed and guided Moses. But while through the influences of Divine wisdom the prophet was thus taught to guard, by the most awful sanctions, the spiritual idea of Deity from all admixture or association with material forms or external representation, it was necessarily otherwise with a service itself typical, leading by sensible usages to the unseen realities of a spiritual faith and hope. Such an initiatory form of worship did most especially require, as St. Paul says, 'a worldly sanctuary.' To make then the inspiration of Moses in these matters in the least dependent on the fact of his having copied, in a mere general conformity, existing archetypes, is no less absurd than it would be to judge of Christian orthodoxy according as a congregation worshipped in a church of Greek or Gothic architecture, or—this absurdity, indeed, is now attempted to be supported—in a wooden shed. If, however, the question must be entertained literally, I ask, do not the displays of sacred art in the desert indicate a wisdom of adaptation and fitness not less than divine? Writers who do not judge of art on the principles of art, the only ground on which, however, a right decision can be come to, forget that in architectural erections particularly, the material circumscribes plan and proportions within certain limits and resemblances, from which, without a constant miracle, it would not be possible to deviate very widely. Let this natural necessity be considered, and instead of doubt or question why there is correspondence discoverable between the works of Moses and the sacred edifices of the Egyptians, our hesitation is changed into admiration of the inspired sagacity whereby, for difference of purpose,

purpose, he had varied from every model then known. The solemn grandeur of the temples which he had so often contemplated in the land of his people's bondage would have well suited the simple majesty of Jehovah's worship; but how transport their massive similitude through the wilderness? On the other hand the dwellings of the children of Esau, the dark tent of the Bedouin Arab, would well have answered for the migratory sanctuary of the sons of Jacob as they journeyed to their promised rest. Yet how subdue into holy reverence their vain, fickle, and still stubborn minds by a form of 'God's place of presence,' so common, and in such imaginations so little able to compete with their remembrance of the splendid ritual of the unfaithful? These were the only two existing types on which, from his own experience, Moses could form his material idea of that tabernacle and its furniture which he 'saw in the Mount.' With a prudence and sagacity surpassing man's invention, 'in all that he made' for the glory and by the command of the Lord, he combined the requisites which were to be found in the works of civilization and religion then in the world.*

There is still another view of this topic on which a few words may be proper. Whence had the Egyptians those forms of sacred fanes and utensils which Moses, we admit, copied in part? On this point two opinions, equally untenable, were held by critics and historians up to the close of the first twenty-five years of the present century. The first of these systems, built chiefly on the authority of the early Greek writers, makes the arts of Egypt original and indigenous; the second theory, chiefly adopted by the philosophers of the last age, assumes the civilization of Egypt to have been brought from the East, from India by way of the Red Sea and Nubia, by a progress down the course of the Nile.[†] Here it is again just matter of complaint that the principles of judgment are torn, as it were, by violence from one department of human civilization and refinement to be applied to others with which they have no proper connection. Whatever may be the claims of those authors, who reason thus, to literary perspicacity, they show themselves unacquainted with the practical rules of decided fact in matters of art. No one with critical knowledge of the character and principles of artistic operations can view the monuments which line both banks of the

* See, as a general reference, Arii Montani, *Beseleel apud Criticos Sacros*, vol. vi. pp. 610-18; Capellus, *Ex Vilipiendo de Templo*, id., vol. vii. pp. 2981-96, edit. fol. Francof., an. 1696.

[†] See Dr. Robertson's *Dissertation on India*, Works, vol. xi. 8vo. edit.; and Sir William Jones's collected Works, 4to. ed. Both these writers argue from philological principles, not applicable to art; and they are, moreover, enthusiasts for 'Hindustan antiquity.'

Nile, in the ruins of temples, palaces, pyramids and tombs, without arriving at the conclusion that these are too harmonious in their grandeur, too simple in their elegance, to be either the primitive essays of a rude people, or the productions of a recovery from 'the operose and tasteless practice,' as Lord Aberdeen justly expresses it, of Indian taste introduced among the subjects of the Pharaohs.

While, then, we must seek somewhere for the originals of those types which Moses in part followed, it is evident they are not to be found in the midst of an idolatry more hideous than even that of Egypt. Is it not possible that he may have returned to the very fountain head whence Egypt had originally drawn her religious forms, and in borrowing had polluted the observances and accessories of the most ancient patriarchal worship? To this conclusion recent discoveries seem rapidly to be conducting. These, we may say, have already all but negatived an eastern Asiatic origin for Egypt, her arts and population. Her own monuments sufficiently indicate that the course of her art was up the stream of her great river, from north to south, not in the opposite direction from Nubia and Meroe. Whence, then, can we derive the flowing of colonization and intelligence save from Chaldea, the primeval seat of the postdiluvian generations, religion, and arts of mankind? Thus modern research on the remotest relics of existing races is bringing us back with a surer confidence to the facts of Scripture. Thus, too, Moses, in copying, as we must admit he did in part imitate and borrow, the outward accessories and economy of Egyptian worship, did only with his people return to those forms which the patriarchal church of their forefathers in its earliest days had received from heaven, or been permitted, on even antediluvian tradition, to retain in the reconsecration of altars and temples on the face of the purified earth.^a

These inquiries into art on the principles of art being thus guarded from misapprehension on either side, I now proceed to examine what arts the Israelites unquestionably brought out of Egypt, they not having either time or opportunity afterwards for acquiring their practice. Such knowledge as they may thus be found possessed of bears immediately on the present subject, for all their ordinary wants and mechanical contrivances of daily life were miraculously supplied.^b

Here we are opposed by an objection the very reverse of that now removed. It is alleged by many that the construction of the

^a Bunsen's *Egypt's Place*, Introduction, pp. 26-28. Consult also Arii Montani, *Phalig.*, cap. x. et xi., apud *Crit. Sac.*, pp. 546-7; *Ancient Universal History*, vol. i. pp. 194 and 288; Rich's *Babylon*; and Landseer's *Sabeian Researches*.

^b Deut. ch. xxix. 5; also ch. viii. 4, where, with the Hebrew and Syriac, read 'upon you' in both cases, which removes all doubt of the miracle—'mire miraculum,' as Marsius justly expresses himself, *Sup. Crit. Sac.*

tabernacle;

tabernacle, fabricating the priest's garments, and the detail of circumstances in other incidents of the early part of the 'sojourn-ing,' imply an acquaintance with the arts, and the possession of materials such as cannot by any means be conceded to the Israelites on leaving Egypt. The consequence sought to be drawn from this assertion, 'a consequence,' adds a German writer, 'now all but established and traditional amongst us,' is, that the whole account of the tabernacle and the 'furniture' for its ritual 'belongs to fiction and not to history.'¹ Among English sceptics there is no want of the same spirit, and, it may be added, a similar ignorance of the subject in its bearings on the ancient arts and their existing labours. When on one hand the prophet of God is refused inspiration because relations are manifest between his appointments and the institutions of Egypt, and on the other the truth of sacred Scripture is denied because it speaks of arts alleged not to have then existed in Egypt, what course must be pursued? Why, leaving these opposing systems to destroy, as this contradiction does, all shadow of credit as due to themselves, let us follow the tranquil current of revelation to which the course of time and fact will be found to unite itself. What arts, then, or manipulations are mentioned by Moses, and were these exercises of taste or manufactures of handicraft practised in corresponding perfection in the land of their bondage when he led thence his people?

Egypt in regard to art appears without infancy. Like the fabled power which among the heathens presided over the inventions of elegance and wisdom, she springs forth in history fully armed with every implement of ingenuity, prepared with every contrivance of ancient skill. It is just thus that Scripture, on first raising the veil from the mysteries of primeval knowledge, represents her; and Moses here teaches nothing that Homer, Herodotus and Plato do not confirm.

To prevent the Israelites, as 'Pharaoh's bondsmen,' from participating in the benefits of this civilization, or exercising and profiting by its ingenuity, was impossible. Neither would such prohibition have been desirable. It is a great mistake to suppose, with some, that during the whole period of their stay in Egypt the Israelites dwelt apart in a nomadic state, as at first in Goshen. When they 'became servants in the land of Egypt,' they of course

¹ See the practical and excellent work of Hengstenberg, who has taken the true way to refute such impious absurdity, by showing from existing monuments and remains the state of the arts in Egypt at the time of the Exodus, and the perfect coincidence and agreement of these with the statements in the Mosaic writings. See, in opposition, De Wette, Vater, and Van Bohlen. Most of these writers prove, from their own works, that they could not have accurately and on principle distinguished a production of classic art from an Egyptian remain—or indeed that they ever saw the latter so as to decide on its character as an historical monument!

dispersed therein according to the requirements of their servitude, cultivating at the same time the accomplishments needful for the offices which they filled. Thus, as the paintings and monuments appear to indicate, many among their number at the time of their departure must have been, like their great leader, skilled in all the learning of their masters, whose own advantage was here concerned.^k The personal history of Moses further evinces this general intercourse. When he was found, the Israelitish females were in the immediate neighbourhood of the palace, and instantly appeared in the presence of the princess. He slew the Egyptian, and attempted to reconcile his two countrymen, while residing at court, and in its direct vicinity. In some of the plagues, indeed, there is mention by name of Goshen being exempted, wherein the children of Israel dwelt. But this evidently implies that there the great body of the tribes continued to reside, employed, doubtless, in meaner drudgery, tending cattle, and the labours of agriculture. In the last of these awful visitations, we read that the 'blood of sprinkling' is so commanded, and the sounds of woe are so heard, as prove promiscuous neighbourhood and proximity of habitation among the two races. Then, as still is the case, the people of God were mingled up with the men of this world, but discerned from them by the 'sprinkling of faith' on the heart.^m

We have then only to inquire what arts are mentioned as practised among the Jewish fugitives immediately on their departure? Are these arts found to have been at that time in common use among the Egyptians? We shall combine the two investigations.

1. Both sin and holiness in the camp of Israel make us acquainted with the fact, that in all the processes of metallurgy, as well as in the different departments of the art of metallic sculpture, their artisans were practically conversant. In one of these operations, difficult even to modern science, that of calcination, Moses shows himself proficient to a degree which formerly perplexed commentators, until the more recent experiments in chemistry showed that the golden calf might have readily been reduced to a calx by burning it with *natron*, of which abundance could be obtained in the desert.ⁿ That the working of metals was well known to the ancient Egyptians sufficiently appears from the numerous beautiful specimens to be found in the principal cabinets

^k Drawings from the tombs of the kings in Rosellini and Wilkinson, *passim*; also Clarkson's essay, *Anne liceat invitos in servitutem dare*. See likewise Dr. Kitto's *History of Palestine*, vol. i. 153-4; also 1 Chron. iv.

^m Exod. xii. 13: 'And the blood shall be to you for a token upon the houses where ye are,' &c.

ⁿ Goguet, *Origine des Lois*, &c.; D'Ancreville, *Recherches sur les Arts*, tom. iii., Appendix; Wilkinson, vol. iii., p. 220-2; Scheele's *Chemistry*; Brande's *Chemistry*, vol. i. Introd., and vol. ii. p. 55.

of Europe. Those in the British Museum, the finest of all existing collections, consist of articles, many of them exquisitely wrought, in *bronze* for the most part—*gold* numerous—*silver* fewer—a very small proportion in *lead*, or some of its alloys; but of iron hardly any remain, probably from its greater liability to oxidize. The antiquity of metallurgic art is proved by a painting in a tomb at Thebes, representing the fusion and purifying of gold, of the age of Thotmes IV., whose accession to the throne took place only five years posterior to the death of the Jewish legislator.*

2. Gem-sculpture, or engraving on precious stones, is the second art, most intimately connected with the present inquiry, which is mentioned in the Mosaic records as having been practised in the wilderness: 'With the work of an engraver in stone' is the Divine direction (Exod. xxviii. 11) for the ephod; 'like the engravings of a signet shalt thou engrave the stones with the names of the children of Israel,' &c. Be it observed that this delicate task was to be executed on fourteen of the hardest gems now known, the diamond not excepted. That it was accomplished we are sure from sacred writ; also that the Egyptians had signets from the remotest antiquity, cut likewise on precious stones, and in a manner which indicates the completest mastery over this beautifully minute art, we have proofs in rings, amulets, scarabæi, bracelets, and other ornaments, far too numerous to admit question. That with such ensamples the workmanship of Bezaleel was not equally exquisite there is no reason to conclude.†

'The heroes of old time were proud to wear
The seal engraven with ingenious care;
Worthies whose statues fail'd Time's flood to stem,
Yet live effulgent in the deathless gem.'

Worldage on Ancient Gems.

3. It is altogether unnecessary to insist at any length on the art of sculpture in the less refractory materials of wood and stone, common to the Egyptians and Israelites. The latter, indeed, used in the wilderness wood only for the exercise of their ingenuity, because of its lightness; but that they who had laboured in the building of treasure-cities for Pharaoh, 'even Pithon and Raamses,' could not be deficient in any skill or practice of the stone-cutter, either for solidity or ornament, needs no demonstration. The purpose contemplated in erecting these cities, whether for their

* Moses died 1451 B.C.; therefore the painting and its history carry us back 3294 years.

† 'Huic autem ornamento gemmæ XII. auro incluse artificiosè hærebant, in quibus XII. filiorum Israël nomina incisa fuere, incisione qualem sigillis antiquis gemmarum inditam videmus, quæ longè tamen omne aliorum artificum exemplum vinceret.'—Adron, *Sive de Sanct. Vest. apud Crit. Sac.*, vol. vi. p. 638.

'fortified places,' or for collecting and protecting merchandise—'store cities,' as they are respectively rendered in the Septuagint and described in the Hebrew—or whether they were situate within Goshen or on the eastern frontier, each a question among the learned, matters nothing to the conclusion,—the builders thereof must have been very skilful in the practice of hewing both 'goodly stones' and 'stones of ornament.'⁴

4. It were unnecessary here to mention the lighter arts, except with the intention of proving that all the requisites of skill stated in the Bible to have been exercised by the Israelites, were actually in daily usage among the Egyptians. Thus is it with the arts of embroidery, weaving in colours, painting, dyeing or staining cloth, working in leather, spinning, the manufacture of fine linen, and the preparation of oils, perfumes, and unguents. All these accessories of higher art are identified on the Egyptian monuments, or preserved in actual relics from the tombs and monuments of that most interesting country; nay, are found to have been employed in preserving the very remains of its inhabitants—*ars artificem servat!*

Behold now the Jews prepared in all respects, and on authorities not to be doubted, for every operation of which we read in Scriptural art. We are now in fit condition for examining the progress which they subsequently made and the genius of their national taste.'

Sin—fatal omen—first brings the historian of sacred art fully in contact with his subject. Three months had barely elapsed since the Israelites' miraculous deliverance from slavery, and, notwithstanding their frequent murmurings in this short space, Divine goodness had prevented all their wants. The morning manna had descended regularly as the dew; each evening had brought its feathered tribute; and amid arid wastes their water had been sure. They had beheld the strength of every human arm raised against them, stricken down by a power not their own. Thus in safety and in comfort had they been led up to the day of transgression, and now, surrounded by the most solemn magnificence of nature, they were expecting the return of their leader with a missive of legislation direct from Jehovah. In preliminary attestation of the Divine authority of their future code, they had witnessed the awful sublimities of Sinai infolded and irradiated by celestial grandeurs—when

⁴ Heeren, s. 37; Hengstenberg, p. 48, trans. Herodotus expresses himself thus: *Ἡκεται δὲ κατ' ἑκαστὴν πόλιν βουβάστος πόλις, παρὰ Πάριον τὴν Ἀραβίαν πόλιν. Euterpe*, clviii., edit. Schweig., 8vo., vol. i., p. 189.

⁵ Wilkinson, Rosellini, Pliny, Taylor, Hartmann, Hengstenberg, Niebuhr, and the different travellers in, and writers on Egypt.

‘ Clouds began
To darken all the hill, and smoke to roll
In dusky wreaths, reluctant flames, the sight
Of wrath awaken’d : nor with less dread the loud
Ethereal trumpet from on high ‘gan blow—
That trumpet, heard on Oreb first, perhaps,
When God descended—and, perhaps, once more
To sound the general doom.’—*Milton*.

It was just when thus surrounded with its mercies, and when they ought to have been most deeply impressed by its majesty, that the Israelites rebelled and sinned most grievously against heaven. Thus often still falls the sinner when all dispensation towards him leaves him with least excuse. But Art, not Religion, in this sad conjuncture forms the present subject. Now what must first strike the mind on this view of the transaction is, the abruptness, not to say inconsistency, of the whole narrative, supposing the Jews unacquainted with the practice of the Egyptian arts. On the other hand let it be admitted, as I think has just been proved, that not only had the Jewish mind been most thoroughly imbued with the love of idolatrous worship, but that their hands were sufficiently instructed to be able to second the depraved inclinations of their hearts, and harmony is established in the sacred relation. For if the means of gratifying their impure desires did not exist in the Israelitish camp, how absurd was the demand addressed to Aaron!—‘And when the people saw that Moses delayed to come down out of the Mount, the people gathered themselves together unto Aaron, and said unto him, *Up, make us gods which shall go before us*’ (Exod. xxxii. 1). How ridiculous—worse than childish—would it have been, thus to urge their impious request, unless they had been well aware that skill existed among themselves, and at the command of their remaining leader, fully adequate to the accomplishment of their wishes! The ready acquiescence of Aaron, however sinful in itself, at least proves this fact, being so far valuable evidence in favour of the truth of the Divine word, and interesting in the history of sacred art. Not merely does he not refuse this commission, but the materials, the mode of execution, and the instruments employed are described and named as matters well understood. All is finished within so short a time as proves not practice alone, but expertness of skill in the arts of delineating, casting, and engraving. ‘And the people brake off the golden ear-rings, and brought them to Aaron. And he received them at their hands, and fashioned it with a graving tool, after he had made it a molten calf: and Aaron made proclamation, and said, To-morrow is a feast to the Lord.’ (ver. 3, 4, 5).

We are thus first of all introduced to the art of sculpture among these recreants to the true worship of Jehovah. Commentators, indeed, and learned men there are of the past age, who, probably through ignorance of those sources of information which have since been laid open, consequently of principles now admitted as established, have here involved themselves in difficulties entirely gratuitous; and which, were their interpretations allowed, would cast obscurities on the sacred text altogether foreign to its native perspicuity. Refusing to admit the now generally acknowledged excellence of the arts in Egypt, or that the Jewish tribes had brought this attainment with them, these writers seek to give other meanings to the terms of artistic operations employed by the inspired historian. In judging thus, and on that opinion tampering with the Divine record, they are chargeable with a double unfaithfulness. Let us examine the matter.

In the original the sentence which our translation renders 'and fashioned it with a *graving tool* after he had made it a molten calf,' exhibits the sense somewhat obscurely, on account of a Chaldaic pleonasm, and because the action is inverted; the operation of *casting*, which, in point of time, must have preceded that of *fashioning*, being placed second in order. The true import, however, is well brought out, while the arrangement of expression is preserved, by our version substituting *after* instead of *and* as the connection of the two members. But the real cause of difficulty, or rather difference, in ascertaining the artistic sense of the passage lies in the first clause, 'fashioned it with a graving tool.' **וַיַּצַּר אֹתוֹ בְּחָרָט**. The English translation is here supported both by the LXX. and the Vulgate. The former reads, with beautiful clearness, *καὶ ἐπλασεν αὐτὰ ἐν τῇ γράφιδι*, and the latter more briefly, but less distinctly, gives *et formavit (sup. aurum) opere fusorio*. To these ancient authorities may be added all, or almost all, the modern versions in which the reading of the passage runs as in our own truly excellent version.* If we turn to the Rabbinical glosses, always of respectable weight on points regarding customs or antiquities, it is found that in the Targum of Onkelos,† the best and oldest of the Chaldee expositions, being contemporary with our Lord, **בְּחָרָט** (*stylo, cælo*) 'with a graving-tool,' is explained by the vernacular **בִּזְפָּה**, 'with a pointed knife or graver.'^u

* Castalio has, 'Id ille aurum ab eis acceptum cælo configurarat, vitulumque confilaverat.'—Ed. Lond., 4 tom. 12mo., 1726.

† See Prideaux, *Connexion*, &c., vol. ii. p. 500, ed. Lond., 1845; and Dr. McCaul's Preface to the *Rabbinic Authorities*, p. xxxv.

^u **זִפְּהָ** (*zipha*) est autem instrumentum quo in auro aliquid sculpsitur.—Drusii, *Notæ Majores*, in loc.

Opposed to these interpretations, which clearly establish the sense of this passage, so interesting in the history of the arts among the Jews, a sense, too, supported by the original and best authorities, are the views already generally noticed. These depend altogether on the one expression **בַּחֲרֹט**, 'with a graving tool,' which it is maintained should be rendered 'in a bag:' the import of the whole passage thus being, that when Aaron had received the golden ear-rings, 'he tied them in a bag and thereafter made them a molten calf.* Now that **יָצַר**, the verb in the sentence under discussion, does signify to collect, arrange, as one would a quantity of loose articles, is admitted. This, however, is a derivative import, the primary signification being to *fashion, form, or frame* into a shape. This clearly appears from its being employed to express the Divine act in the creation of man, **וַיַּצְרֵם אֱלֹהִים** (Gen. ii. 7). Again in respect to the noun **חֲרָט**, 'graver,' nothing can be more certain than that not once is it employed in the Scriptures as a substantive in the singular for a bag. In the plural it appears to be so used, for money bags or purses only, an analogy easily traceable from the idea of outward shape—long, slender, and tapering. On the whole the question is one of philology, which Gesenius seems to have satisfactorily settled, by proving that there are two separate words for things so distinct.†

As to the artistic aspect of the subject in dispute, it is represented in the demand 'who taught Aaron to engrave?' Of course the interrogative is not intended personally to apply to Aaron, but is held as equivalent to a complete refutation of the opinion that skill sufficient for the work existed in the Israelitish camp.‡ The conclusion therefore points at overthrowing every theory of an Egyptian origin for Jewish art. Granting, however, for a moment that the 'graving tool' was thus unknown, still a far more important and difficult process, the casting of the 'molten calf,' remains to be explained. 'Who taught Aaron,' it may here justly be retorted, as a French commentator expresses it, '*jeter en moule,*' to found or cast a work in statuary? Whether we admit the use of the graver or not, this, the more arduous operation, the execution of which no one attempts to deny, proves that there must have been among the Israelites workmen perfectly efficient in the most complicated of the labours of metallic sculpture, and

* Stackhouse, vol. i. p. 276. See also Patrick, *in loc.*; and *Essay towards a New Translation of the Scriptures*. Lond.

† See *Lex. Heb.*, voc. **חָרָט** et **חָרִיט**, the former with a Syriac, the other an Arabic derivation. Nevertheless, in his *Thesaurus*, Gesenius refers them both to the same root, and seems rather inclined to the *bag* sense.

‡ See Poli, *Synop. Critic.*, for a somewhat confused review of opinions on this subject. Poole himself evidently inclines to the anti-Egyptian theory of art.

consequently able for any of the subsequent undertakings described in the writings of Moses. This knowledge could only have been acquired in Egypt: by the wanderers in the desert the practice of such art had not previously been wanted, or if necessary, so high a degree of practical skill could not possibly have been attained. While then the lesser accomplishment is refused, the impugnors of the preceding reasoning have to assign some plausible origin for the higher acquirement in artistic manipulation. But only for a moment have I given up the use of the graving tool as well known in the days of Moses. To Egyptologists of the present day it would prove tedious rather than instructive to go over the almost innumerable instances in which this with almost every other instrument *now* used in sculpture is confessedly represented on monuments of much earlier date than the Exodus. Neither need I enumerate here even the principal specimens of Egyptian art contained in the British Museum alone, not to speak of other European collections, which both in bronze and in the precious metals have evidently been first cast, and afterwards touched up and finished with the chisel, the file, and the graving tool in all its applications. These are the very means of completing works in metallic sculpture indicated in the case before us.^a Besides, how can it possibly be maintained that the Jews were ignorant of all the nicety of operation necessary in the formation of their idol, when its very materials, the gold pendants and ornaments with which they parted, must have displayed the dexterous employment of the graver in every description of minute sculptural elaboration? These, indeed, had been borrowed, or rather justly demanded, from their former taskmasters; but the fact of the beauty of the workmanship proves that the Egyptians—consequently, though perhaps in less perfection, their bondsmen—had knowledge

‘How the consummate character to bring
 Within the compass of the golden ring;
 Delightful talent of the patient hand
 Gaining o’er form such delicate command;
 To this fine branch of useful art we owe
 Treasures that grandeur may be proud to show.’

Hayley on Sculpture.

After all, however, as the argument respects their own arts, the fact ought to be decided by the Scriptures. Have we then in the sacred records evidence that in the times of Moses the art of engraving, or sculpturing in metal, or at least the practice of

^a Rosellini, ii. § 32; Wilkinson, vol. iii. p. 169; Jablounsky, *Voc. Ægypt.* Cicognara, *Storia della Scult.*, vol. i.; Worlidge's *Gems, Introd.*; Winklemann, *Storia dell' Arte*, vol. ii.; Natter, *Methode Antique*, fol. 1754; *History of Engraving*, Lindsay, *Ency. Met.*

using its instruments, was well known? Omitting many instances in the Prophets testifying to the affirmative, but too modern to be here conclusive, we pass to the book of Job. In that ancient composition, claiming for it no higher date than the period of the Exode, we discover most satisfactory proof that the use of the graving tool and its employment upon various materials were not only well known, but common. The beautiful composition which follows sufficiently establishes these facts:—‘Oh that my words were now written! oh that they were printed in a book! *that they were graven with an iron pen and lead in the rock for ever!*’ (Job xix. 23, 24). On the verse marked in Italics, as now quoted in the words of the common version, the proof required might be rested. The illustration, however, is more complete in the original, of which Dr. Good’s translation, as the most literal and the best in our language, is subjoined:—

‘O that my words were even now written down;
O that they were engraven on a tablet;
With a pen of iron upon lead!
That they were sculptured in a rock for ever!’

Avoiding textual criticism, which is not my present purpose, I merely remark these particulars bearing on the subject, the proof that the *graver*, *chisel*, and other instruments of the sculptor were in use in the primitive Scriptural times. Now, in evidence of this, let it be observed that the passage before us stands originally as a question. Accordingly, the LXX. accurately render the commencement, *Τίς γὰρ ἂν δοίη γραφῆναι?* This, however, far from representing difficulty in the act, expresses, on the contrary, in the sacred idiom, a strong desire that something deeply interesting to the speaker, yet readily effected, may actually be done. In a word, the verse is the expression of a wish easily accomplished. Here then we find ‘the ancient sage of Uz’ testifying to the artistic principle of the future refinement of the Jews—that in the days of Moses and among Scriptural races two at least of the three main branches of the sculptor’s art, *Chalcography* and *Petrography*, were known and practised.^b But without straining the meaning, there seems good reason for believing that the passage infers a contemporaneous practical knowledge of the third and remaining department, *Xylography*, or carving in wood and other similar material. For when we consider the structure of the climax in these two verses from Job, and reflect on the earnestness

^b From the classic notices of ancient art, both in Greek and Latin writers, authorities are abundant for the term *Petrography* to signify stone-cutting, from its humblest to its highest application. *Lithography* is now too established in its erroneous meaning, ‘printing from stone,’ to be restored as formerly, and more correctly used.

wherewith he longs to perpetuate, in order to publishing, his convictions of the truth, it seems more natural to suppose that, passing over the ordinary modes of writing on soft substances, as skins, linen, palm leaves, or papyrus (which last was certainly used in the times of the older Pharaohs), he refers to the manner of recording and making known public edicts in tables of wood, metal, and stone.* Nor, in the strict sense of the words, does any one of the names applied indicate that the things meant do not bear out these inferences in regard to the instruments and practice of elemental art. Even the expression סֵפֶר, which our translators render, after the LXX., 'in a book,' must be held as conveying a relative idea in harmony with the progress of refinement and convenience. The book then in that age must have resembled those, a specimen of which Montfaucon assures us he examined, whose leaves were plates of metal, their binding metallic rings, their characters engraven figures, and their pen a *burin*. The very language expresses this *material* duration, not the *moral* perpetuity belonging to books or letters. This is the opinion of Drusius—'Ordo verborum ita corrigendus erit. Quis det ut imprimantur, vel potius insculpantur, in libro? Vulg. Quis mihi det ut mea verba exarentur in libro? et LXX. τεθῆναι δὲ αὐτὰ ἐν βιβλίῳ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα, expresserunt vim verbi *sculpo*. Namquæ in ære diu durant.'^d The *moral enduring* of these words of Job hath now indeed been ensured; their spiritual memorial, *ære perennius*, according to the beautiful remark of Chrysostom, has long been reared. 'The triumph of the patient and upright Job, and his inspired declaration, "I know that my Redeemer liveth," have with incomparably greater certainty been consecrated to immortality in his own divine book than if they had been graven on metal or hewn in the rock.' Allusions, then, so clear and emphatic, to these operations, prove all that can be desired regarding contemporary art and its instruments in the age of Moses. Nor can it be considered otherwise than confirmation of our reasoning that the word rendered *pen*, in the original כּוּט, properly signifies an instrument capable of *digging into that which is hard* (Arab. كُط, Gesen. *in verb.*). Its primitive use is strongly represented in these words of Isaiah (xvii. 1), 'The sin of Judah

* Montfaucon, *Antiquité Exp.*, tom. ii., et *Paleogr. Græca*, p. 405; Niebuhr, *Voyage en Arabie*; Burekhardt, *On the Engraved Cliffs of Sinai*; Bauer's *Mythology*, vol. i. p. 567; Jablonski (*Panth. Egypt.*) on the *Isiac Table*; Wilkinson, vol. iii. p. 300; and Rosellini, tom. ii. § 2, p. 241.

^d Drussi *Nota Majores*, in loc. (Job xix. 23, 24), apud *Criticos Sacros*, tom. ii. p. 715. The *Targum* on the place runs thus: 'O that my expressions, or sentiments, were figured or represented, or impressed on a tablet.'

is written with a pen of iron.' Doubtless also, **עַט** is used for a reed pen, the implement for common writing. When, however, the case stands so, the word is accompanied by expletives or obviously is metaphorically applied, as very frequently occurs in our own language—

'Eternal Deities!

Who *write* whatever time shall bring to pass,
With pens of adamant on plates of brass.'—*Dryden*.

In the preceding remarks it ought to be clearly borne in mind that regarding the use of writing in the times of the Exode, both by phonic characters to a certain extent, and by pictured signs generally, there has been and can be no question. To every one in the slightest degree conversant with the present state of Egyptology the fact is well known. Not only so, but it must be admitted the Egyptians merited the appellation of the 'writing nation,' by which they were sometimes distinguished. 'We must shut our eyes against the clearest light,' says an eminent archæologist, 'if we would deny that the art of reading and writing was generally studied and practised in ancient Egypt to as great a degree, at least, as it now is among us.' Of the truth of this statement there cannot be more conclusive evidence than is derivable from the name given in the sacred record to the overseers of the Israelites in the land of their bondage. The word which our common version renders 'taskmasters,' is in the original **שֹׁטְרִים**, *scribes—writers*, men 'set over them by Pharaoh,' to note down with the most rigid exactness the deficient tasks or accomplished works of these over-laboured bondsmen.' Neither must we imagine that even then, in those remote ages, the art of writing, with its powers and resources of graphic delineation and practice of hand so important in the fine arts and to the labours of Moses, existed as a newly discovered or infrequent accomplishment. The whole system had already long been matured. On the earliest monuments of Egyptian civilization, sculptured representations coeval with and telling of Menes,—records, consequently, independent of revelation, that carry us far into the dim twilight of ignorance or knowledge—be it which it may—succeeding the Flood and the dispersion of the human race—on these immemorial antiquities we behold as sculptured signs the *style*, the pen of iron **עַט בְּרֹזָל** of Job, and the *calamus, the reed*, **בִּדְרוֹט אֱנָשׁ**, the *man's pen* of Isaiah (viii. 1).⁵ Considering, then, all these ele-

⁵ Rosellini, ii. p. 239-50, for this and other details.

⁶ Hengstenberg, B. II. *Der Beiträge zur Einl.*, p. 450.

⁷ Leipsius, *Tödtendbuch*, 1842, preface, pp. 17, 18. Consult also Bunsen, *Egypt's Place, &c.*, vol. i. of the English translation, pp. 25-31, for an account of this most interesting *Book of the Dead*.

ments of art, and appliances of hand ; reflecting also on the nature of the materials in which it is proved these were exercised—wood—metal—stone—every one will readily admit a sufficiency of manual skill to have then existed among the Jews for the execution of all the future undertakings of their great leader.

One inquiry connected with this handicraft resource still remains. Were these artisans acquainted with plastic art? Could they model? The gigantic proportions of most of the Egyptian works in statuary, and the character of their hieroglyphical sculptures, have led to the inference that the artists of ancient Egypt paid no attention to this department of study. So far as colossal works are concerned the conclusion is probably just. But when we consider the multiplicity and variety of the fictile arts of that country, it seems impossible to exclude from the number of their artistic studies dexterity in modelling, and moulding in the soft. Of course, from the nature of its products, we can judge for the most part only negatively, and, as it were, from suggestions, of the extent to which the art was employed, or the perfection to which it had attained, among the taskmasters of God's people. But when we review the indications which actually exist, suggestive, of the modeller's and moulder's practice, and when we examine the proofs in the statuettes of clay and of porcelain, certainly formed by the hand, as also innumerable small figures, in metal and cast hollow, which are to be seen in the museums of Egyptian antiques, here cannot be a doubt that, on their exode, the Israelites carried with them the practice of these branches. Hence we are able both to establish the practicability of the succeeding labours of Moses, and also to remove the remaining obscurities in the great act of Aaron's apostacy.^h Returning then for a moment to this subject: was the vituline form by which he assisted 'Israel to sin,' a shape of accident, or was it a work of regulated and intentional design, according to the means, as just described, which were at his command? In regard to the first opinion, it is mentioned in the Jewish Rabbinical writings, and by some respectable Christian commentators—though by each class from different motives. The former, avowedly to exculpate Aaron, ascribe the

^h In saying that we possess only *inferential* knowledge of the arts of modelling and moulding among the Egyptians, I may seem to have made a statement opposed by the very fact that they practised the art of sculpture. Pliny's adage of art, 'Nulla signa statuæve sine argillâ,' belongs only to classic art, whose forms little exceeded the proportions of nature; and as I have shown that in their smaller works there is evidence of the Egyptian artists having had experience in all kinds of plastic work, the precept only confirms my remark. As a separate art, fictile statuary was not practised before the ages of early Tuscan and Grecian art. See Winklemann, tom. i. s. iii.; Flaxman, Lecture II.; Westmacott, *Sculp. Enc.*; Seroux d'Agincourt, vol. ii., *Introduc.*, Longman's edition.

whole to diabolical agency. Taking literally the words of his erring brother to Moses, 'I cast it (the gold) into the fire and there came out this calf,' they explain them as a declaration that Satan was the author of the whole. Leaving without further remark this absurdity, we come to those Christian writers who, founding also on Aaron's somewhat questionable apology, assume it as not improbable that he indeed melted all together the offerings of the people, but that by chance the molten mass came out bearing resemblance to the vituline image. This rude figure they admit to have been afterwards sculptured by the proper tools into the idol as described in the sacred narrative. On this theory I have only to observe that the supposition, involving as it does almost an impossibility, requires, after all, to render it complete, nearly the whole of that skill which, as monumental history testifies, existed at this time among the Jews, as already shown.

We have thus arrived at the statements of those more intelligent writers who, rightly judging that the inspiration of the sacred volume is no way affected by the employment of human or temporal means for the external accomplishing of the Divine purposes, consider the regular and premeditated resources of man's art to have been in the usual way called into operation in forming the golden calf. The simplest view here is, that this idol, whether in imitation of Apis or Osiris, or any other of the Egyptian deities, matters not,¹ was a *solid* molten image, moulded, cast, and afterwards touched up with the 'graving tool,' in the ordinary style of finishing. To this idea no objection can be brought either from the particular recital of the circumstances in the thirty-second chapter of Exodus, or from the general state of art at the time. The great quantity of precious metal requisite on this plan, and uselessly consumed—or else the very small size of the idol—presents the only just suspicion of its correctness. This, however, affects no detail of art. It is only a higher step in mere mechanical practice, by no means beyond existing resources, while it is quite consistent with the sacred text to suppose that the image was a perfect molten work, cast hollow, and consequently modelled with more dexterity. Another class of opinions proceeds upon the principle that the idolatrous work was one of *laminated art*. In such case the inner substance must have been formed of some soft or easily carved material, as wax in miniature, and clay or wood in larger figures. This 'core' or frame-work being thus quickly finished, could be rapidly covered over with thin plates of the

¹ Hengstenberg, *Beiträge*, 2, s. 155, says it was a representation of Apis; while Wilkinson supposes it to have been intended for Mnevis (*Ancient Egyptians*, vol. ii. pp. 96, 97). See also Spenser, *de Diis Syriis*. All these writers insinuate a pure motive in Aaron.

external coating, which, in the instance before us, was of course gold. These *laminæ* either overlapped at the edges, or were fitted into each other. The facility with which such a performance could be executed suits the exigency in question, while the beauty and applicability of similar artistic operations are abundantly proved by the earlier works of the Greeks, and in the wonderful *Chryselephantine* sculptures of Phidias, 'the perfect Olympian Jupiter and Athenian Minerva.'^k Of the archaic specimens, however, of this art, we still possess such information as seems clearly to demonstrate that to this species of art belonged the work of Aaron. Pausanias^m describes a statue of Jupiter by Learchus—the most ancient then known—having been executed in the eighth century before our era, formed of plates of brass, hammered round by rivets, and with a 'core' or 'foundation' of wood—exactly as I suppose the calf of the Wilderness to have been constructed. Of this character are all the most ancient metallic statues, and the style of art is hence by the Greeks termed *Σφυρήλατον*. To this description of sculpture all Homer's accounts of the art refer, and one example of unknown antiquity, a head of Osiris, with the internal wooden nucleus still subsisting within the metal coating, has been published among the antiques of the Dilettante Society.ⁿ Thus the earliest classic records lead us up to Egyptian practice—for from Egypt all admit the parentage of art—and thence we easily obtain the most probable idea of the true nature of Aaron's performance—'Israel's molten God.'^o

On reviewing what is said in the preceding pages, the reader will find that in the *mécanique* of sculptural art the Israelites had little to learn in order to equal in their works the highest refinement then known. In graphic art—for painting, even among the Egyptians, it could hardly be called—they were acquainted at least with the tracing of an outline, so as with sufficient accuracy to represent conventional forms of animated imaginary creatures, and to give with a degree of spirit the essential characters of in-

^k See Flaxman, Lecture IX.; Westmacott, art. 'Sculpt.,' *Encyc. of Fine Arts*; Cicognara, *Storia della Scultura*, tom. i., 'Arte nella Grecia'; and especially M. Quatremère de Quincy, *Dissert. sur le Jupiter Olymp. de Phidias*.

^m Vol. iii. c. 17, § 6. Recent German editors read 'Klearchus.'

ⁿ Pausanias, x. c. 12; Pliny, xxxiii. c. 4; *Odyss.* iii. v. 420-8; D'Hancreville, *Or. des Arts*, tom. i. 201; Westmacott on *Sculpt.*, *Encyc. of Fine Arts*; Millin, *Diet.*; Winklemann and Elmes.

^o No small difficulty has been experienced in giving, brief and imperfect as it is, the above synopsis of opinions. Most writers and commentators on the subject of the golden calf, though displaying, many of them, much learning, are yet wanting in knowledge either of the literature or practice of art. The reader is referred generally, on the topics discussed in the text, to the different learned commentaries on Exod. xxxii.; *Apud Criticos Sacros*, tom. ii. et in Append. tom. vii.; Arius Montanus de *Vit. Aur.*; Goguet, *Origine des Arts*; and Denon, with other works on modern Egypt.

animate nature.^p With the application of at least three colours they appear to have been well acquainted. How far they were capable of appreciating or expressing tone, distance, perspective, or sentiment does not exactly appear; but certainly in these respects they cannot well be supposed to have exceeded the Egyptians. Like them too they possessed no means of representing mental superiority more refined than the barbarous exaggerations of bodily magnitude. Of their skill in architecture we have not had occasion yet to speak. It was not called forth till a much later period in the history of their arts. It might however have been inferred, without positive evidence, that they could not have so long laboured upon and among the stupendous erections everywhere rising, or previously completed in the land of their sojourning, without carrying thence some knowledge both of the principles and practice of the noblest and most striking of the arts of man. We have assurance of the fact of their possessing something of this intelligence; for in the prohibitions, by Divine authority, that while they were commanded to *build* an altar to Jehovah, they were not to lift 'tool' or 'iron' upon the stones, nor ascend to their 'places of offering' by 'steps,' it is seen that in cutting, polishing, and fitting the hard materials of masonry they must have had experience and disposition also to exercise their skill.^q

Thus have I endeavoured to exhibit a fair estimate of art among the people of God at the time when He led them forth from bondage to constitute their tribes, for his own high purposes, into the most remarkable nation that has ever existed on the face of the earth. In the peculiar province of art, indeed, their attainments were hardly advanced beyond rudimental practice. But even from the preceding imperfect sketch it cannot fail to appear that in an age of the world's history, which, compared with Western civilization, was antiquity at its commencement, they were acquainted with principles, had acquired knowledge, and could exercise skill, capable if cultivated, with their genius, of raising them to superiority over all Greek or Roman excellence. For why should not the heroic forms of Judah's warriors if sculptured by Jewish chisel, and the beauty of the daughters of Jerusalem if delineated by native pencil, have just as far excelled the marbles of Phidias or the paintings of Apelles, the statues of Michael

^p This will be more fully proved in my second communication.

^q Exod. xx. 25, has the word *תֹּרֶךְ* tool, chisel; Gesenius, *pickaxe*; Deut. xxvii. 5, as likewise other passages, have simply the generic *בְּרֹזֶל* iron. In this simplicity of rustic altars the heathens sometimes imitated the Jews (see Cicero, *De Legibus*; Hecateus and Servius, in *Æneid.* iv.). Very recent experiments have proved that, with all our advantages in science, the Egyptians must have far surpassed all modern skill in tempering tools for the stone-cutter and sculptor.

Angelo or the Madonnas of Raphael, as the majesty of the Psalms and the sublimities of the Prophets surpass the lyrics of Pindar or the descriptions of Homer? I know not that any other answer can be given to this question than what Scripture renders. Such was not the Divine purpose—that purpose, solemn and holy, required the Jews to dwell alone—to remain a peculiar people.

Lords of the vision-favoured land, guardians of a spiritual worship, and keepers of truth revealed—whatever tended to mingle them with the rest of mankind, brought religion itself into danger. The arts, therefore, the glory and the incentive of enlarged intercourse, were to them forbidden, because perilous, refinement. Conquest, on which it has been said the Arts wait, was also denied—once in their rest—never had it been promised to Son of Abraham—

‘Tu regere imperio populos dilecte memento
Et hinc tibi erunt Artes!’

Commerce, too, which at once supports them, and in turn is nourished by the Arts, was so restricted that neither in this direction could material influence be exerted on the national taste. Religion, among every other people the inspirer of the arts, did, for that very reason, fulminate the most awful prohibitions against their seductive allurements within her sacred province. How just—how wise this exclusion, how great the danger of neglecting it, are seen in every page of Jewish history, and, it may be added, alas! in that of the Christian Church.

When we consider this principle of the Divine economy in regard to the Israelites, it will not be matter either of doubt or surprise that never in the existence of the people are so much native art and ingenuity to be found amongst them as at this their outset in the career of nations. From these facts the historian of the philosophy of Jewish art easily infers two explanations: first, he may see a ready answer to all who, mistrusting or affecting to mistrust the accuracy of the sacred statements, ask how Moses could, in the desert, find workmen to execute his designs, when Solomon, five centuries afterwards, in the most flourishing period of the Hebrew state, was obliged to employ foreigners in his erections? Also the second inference may be applied to expose those mistakes regarding the excellences of sacred art, which deny to it that beauty and those effects which we are assured resided in its efforts. In the former case it has just been shown that the mechanical practice of the arts brought by the Jews from Egypt, though adequate to the performance of all things necessary for the ‘Lord’s house,’ was but too liable to be abused to the service of idols. These attainments Moses in due time converted to the holy purposes in which he was commanded and instructed how to employ them.

them. These labours accomplished, the types and forms of Art were for ever fixed. To the genius and imagination of the Israelite there was no further outlet in this direction. But while straitened and bound down like the Egyptian artist, by conventional shapes and unchanging expression, the Jew, had he been inclined to exercise art, wanted the ceaseless encouragement which Egypt gave to her sons in the countless multiplications and repetitions of religious objects. The tabernacle first, the temple afterwards, enshrined at once all that had been or could rightly be of Hebrew art. Not only thus was fancy disallowed, but even skill of hand speedily became extinguished. Secular sources of encouragement or of patronage there were none ; so that during a period of some length ‘ a smith or forge was not to be found within all the borders of Israel.’

Of the excellent beauty however of the works at first executed, or of the grandeur of the temple afterwards erected, there can be no doubt. The character of this excellence will hereafter be explained. Meanwhile how seldom is the ideal of Hebrew art rightly appreciated ! It was the reverse of the ideal in art in its highest eminence among the most distinguished of other nations. The faultless performances of the Grecian chisel, or the steadfast symmetry of the Grecian temple, concentrated thought and feeling on themselves. It was the present object which filled, and which still fills the soul. The artist by the fervour of genius strove to ascend to Heaven, thence to bring down forms and expression beyond all mundane power or beauty—to lift the soul away from the earthly present was the purpose of Hebrew art. Here idealism consisted in the strength of sensation, not centred on the symbol, but elevated to what was symbolized—

‘ That hope was theirs—that faith sublime—
Which triumphs over place and time.’

The ideality of their arts, therefore, charmed not by carnal beauty—it stood in the spiritual meaning.

ON THE TYPICAL IMPORT OF THE ORDINANCES OF THE DAY OF ATONEMENT.

Levit. xvi.

By GEORGE J. WALKER.

THE sin of Nadab and Abihu, it would appear, caused an abridgment of the privilege till then enjoyed by Aaron of continual entrance into the Holiest. He was henceforth restricted, under penalty of death, to one annual entrance. The wrath which had fearfully burned on his sons for their transgression would be equally incurred by the father were he to venture at any other time, in however reverent a manner, to go before the presence of Him who said, 'I will appear in the cloud upon the mercy-seat.' But if sin led to this restriction, and made the high-priest's entrance, though under shelter of incense, offered with no strange fire, so solemn a matter; a striking contrast was subsequently exhibited, when the greatest of all sins caused the veil to be rent, and the innermost secrets of grace to be disclosed. Instead of being warned, like Aaron, 'not to come at all times into the holy place,' believers are exhorted to come boldly unto the throne of grace; and the danger of which they are warned is not of *coming nigh* too often or too confidently, but of despising their rich blessings and *drawing back* unto perdition.

But the institution of the Day of Atonement, though thus limiting the privilege of the high-priest, was intended to secure to Israel the blessing of unbroken intercourse with God. Their corporate standing was thus preserved, and it was placed out of the reach of any contingencies of sin and failure which might otherwise (as in the case of Nadab and Abihu) *endanger its stability*.

The ninth chapter of Hebrews teaches the bearing on the Church of the great truths shadowed forth in Levit. xvi. The earthly bearing of the blood of Christ had been beautifully set forth in the type of the passover in Egypt. The peaceful feeding on the lamb, the sprinkled blood of which sheltered from wrath and judgment, besides many other particulars, find their blessed and well-known correspondence in the circumstances of one who believes in 'Christ our passover.' But the ordinance of the passover teaches nothing of the value of the blood of Christ in the *heavenlies*. It is only by combining Exod. xii. and Levit. xvi. that we obtain a complete typical view of the Christian's blessing.

No

No statement of the Gospel is perfect which leaves the faintest impression on the sinner that he has anything *to do* in order to be saved. The beloved Son of God coming down from heaven into the midst of us, to seek and to save the lost, is the full expression of the Father's love. 'God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life;' and there is need of great care in making the types of Leviticus the basis of addresses to the unconverted, lest the idea be conveyed that some *religious act* is, after all, a preliminary to the obtaining of pardon and peace.

There appear to be indeed but two types which can be so used without such a risk—the passover and the brazen serpent. All the rest can hardly be thus handled without more or less embarrassment and danger of imparting defective views of the divine grace to the sinner. They are rather suited to one who has already, through grace, believed, and before whose eyes Christ has been evidently set forth crucified. The difference is easily seen between Paul's discourses in the Acts and his elaborate unfolding of the believer's standing and privileges in the Epistle to the Hebrews.

These remarks I would apply to the present chapter, not, of course, excluding its application to a sinner's first acceptance on the ground of the great atonement, but observing that it goes much beyond this, and is used in Heb. ix. to show that those whose consciences have been cleansed by the blood of Christ have free access to the heavenly sanctuary, the same blood having likewise cleansed the heavenly things themselves. When the heart has been sprinkled from an evil conscience, and the body washed with pure water, the exhortation is, 'Let us draw near.' We may then boldly tread the new and living way, and having a great priest over the house of God, should come with a true heart, in full assurance of faith.*

The difficulty of deducing a clear Gospel from the mercy-seat is felt when it is seen to involve the necessity of saying to the sinner, 'Draw nigh.' His thoughts are diverted from the marvellous grace which brings the offer of forgiveness to his very door, to an effort which he is to make himself; and it is, alas! ever but too natural to men to turn away from Christ to rest on their own inward experiences and religious exertions.

The following is from the Rev. A. Bonar's *Memoir and Remains of the Rev. Robert M. M'Cheyne*, p. 80. 'In dealing with souls

* It has been well observed, that the expression 'Full assurance of faith,' 'by no means conveys the idea of a certain standard measure of faith as a matter of attainment. The reference is not to the measure of faith, but to its bearing on the right object. The faith may be the weakest possible; but let that, weak as it is, be in full bearing on its own proper object.'

he used to speak very plainly. One came to him who assented to his statements of the Gospel, and yet refused to be comforted, always looking upon *coming to Christ* as something in addition to really believing the record God has given of his Son. He took John iii. 16, 17, 'For God so loved the world,' &c.

When this beautiful type, then, of the Day of Atonement is used in discoursing to the unconverted, care must be taken in its exhibition. The truths connected with the shedding of the blood of Christ on earth obviously and naturally lead to its use in Heaven; but the Scriptural order should be observed, and the twofold error (a very common one) avoided, which, in applying texts to the world that properly belong to the Church, deprives the latter of its peculiar and distinctive blessings, while to the former it obscures the freeness of the grace of God.

Verse 4. Aaron arrayed in the holy garments represents Christ as fit to make atonement by reason of his own intrinsic purity. The idea conveyed by them is not that which we receive from the ordinary garments of glory and beauty, but that of spotless purity; the perfect human righteousness of Him, who in the days of his flesh was 'holy, harmless, undefiled, and separate from sinners.' Washings, under the law, were typical of the cleanness we obtain by means of the death and resurrection of the Lord Jesus.

Thus the Apostle says we are saved *διὰ λουτροῦ παλιγγενεσίας*, with allusion to the laver of brass; and the 'body washed with pure water' is equivalent to being buried with Christ in baptism (Coloss. ii. 12) and being 'born of water' (John iii. 5). But the cleanness, thus attainable by us, only through the death of Christ, He himself essentially possessed. We are not therefore to look for any act in him to correspond with Aaron's washing his flesh in water; for it was only when thus bathed and arrayed in spotless white that the Jewish high-priest became a fitting type of Jesus, when, divested of his heavenly majesty, he appeared prepared for the lowly ministrations which atoned for sin, and consecrated a living way into the Holiest.

Verses 5-10. The animals intended for sacrifice are presented before the Lord. None of them are yet to be slain. Aaron shall *bring* (הֵקִיר) his bullock, &c., v. 6 (see v. 9, 11, 20); and shall *appoint* (עֲשֶׂה) the goat for a sin-offering (v. 9). This must have been an impressive part of the ceremonial. The formal presentation of the destined victims before Him whose holiness demanded their death; the remembrance of the common sin; priests as well as people equally needing an atonement; and the solemn appeal to Jehovah for the allotment of the two goats, must have invested the scene with a character of deliberateness and solemnity, well suited

suit to the vast importance of the subject, and calculated to awaken serious and chastened feelings, though the time was not yet come for these types to be fully comprehended, and for yet far deeper disclosures of sin and its remedy. Thus does Isaiah (ch. liii.) describe our blessed Lord's appearance as the destined victim; and thus did John the Baptist point to Him as the Lamb of God, the taker away (*ὁ αἴρων*) of the sin of the world.

The 11th verse, of course, has nothing to correspond with it in the way of antitype: Jesus needed not to offer a sacrifice 'for himself.'

The world has always, since the fall, been barren of good. Even of that part which had been brought under the most careful cultivation, and on which no pains had been spared, the Lord said, 'Wherefore when I looked that it should bring forth grapes, brought it forth wild grapes?' But his righteous claims admitted of no abatement. His demands were still in full force, nor could the incompetency of his creatures to meet them be admitted as a reason either for their mitigation or annulment. To the question, How must God be loved? the answer ever was, with all thine heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy might; and it was also added, 'and thy neighbour as thyself.' From helpless man was still required the fulfilment of every jot and tittle of righteousness. He must be its living personification. Each affection and spring of the heart must be in freshness and perfection, and moreover his character must be adorned with every beauteous grace. It was the demand of grapes from thorns, and of figs from thistles; it was as though it had been required of Cain to produce from a cursed ground fruits that should have the flavour of those of Eden, and flowers with scent and hues like those which blossomed there.

There was One, and only One, who met the divine requirements, and He met them on our behalf. Born a man into the world, the eternal Son not only appeared, as it were, arrayed in robes of virgin whiteness; but his human nature ever sent up to God, and from a wilderness world, the fragrance of each perfect grace.

The four kinds of sweet spices (Exod. xxx.) with the pure frankincense, mixed in equal weights, 'tempered together, pure and holy,' and beaten very small, fitly indicate the most holy perfume (how unlike the ill-savour of our fallen nature!) which from him, as a man in the world, constantly ascended up before God. For the first time the full fragrance of human graces, and these too in even proportion, and most perfect blending, was smelled in heaven.

Trials to a fallen being, only serve the more to elicit the vileness and corruption within; while every trial to Jesus was like the incision which is followed by the dropping of the sweet gums. But

But there was a test to which that faultless character was always brought; the *holiness* of God searched it; and of that holiness *fire* is in Scripture the constantly recurring type. Aaron was commanded to take, when he entered into the Holiest, a censer full of burning coals of fire from off the altar, and his hands full of the sweet incense; then putting it upon the fire before the Lord, the thick cloud of the incense covered the mercy-seat, and rolled its fragrant volumes around the divine presence.

A striking view of the holiness of God, of human incompetency to meet it, and of the abounding graces of our Lord's humanity, appears in the energy and strength of the expressions in these two verses. The censer must contain *fire—burning coals of fire—* and be *full* of them. A high-priest 'that had infirmity' could stand but for a few moments in the awful presence, and live, only as sheltered by the cloud; for this alone prevented his being carried out a corpse. This appears from the words, 'That he die not.' And the rich abundance of the Saviour's graces seems indicated by Aaron's entering with his hands as full of incense as they could grasp. Powerful lessons may be learned from these copies and shadows of heavenly things.

Verses 14—16. The sprinkling of the blood upon the mercy-seat, and before the mercy-seat, is the believer's title to enter the Holiest in spirit (Heb. ix. 23, 24). Uncleanness, transgressions, and sins required the purification of the heavenly things themselves, and we can now approach without fear of introducing defilement. The throne of God, and the way to it, both exhibit spots of precious atoning blood. Our hearts and persons have been prepared for the way, and the way for them. Blood of infinite value has been shed on earth, and faith now recognizes that it has been brought even where God dwells, and has made a throne of righteousness equally one of *grace*. That the token of *death* should be seen in heaven, and its memorial perpetuated beneath the very eyes of God, is a wonderful feature of the redemption plan. Jesus only could thus act, and appear in such a place with such a memorial. What blood but *His* would have been endured there, and who but He could have brought it? What an astonishing sight for angels, when they beheld the eternal Son enter as man into the glory; and appearing with the prints of the nails on his hands and feet! Whatever future revelations of the mind and wisdom of God endless ages may disclose; whatever fresh creative acts of his power may be seen, it is certain that the glorified humanity of Jesus will be the centre, as it were, of everything; and that humanity bearing the impress of earthly sufferings. New worlds may be called into existence; new beings formed; intelligences, as yet uncreated,

ated, may swell the already vast number of those who declare the divine glory and goodness; but no amount of wonders eternally accumulating will obscure the imperishable record of the past; it is wrought, as it were, into the very constitution of the heavens; blazoned on the forefront of their brightest glories, imprinted on the very person of Him whom all adore. Let us suppose a being of a future creation is shown the heavenly city. He sees no temple therein, 'for the Lord God Almighty and *the Lamb* are the temple of it.' No sun nor moon, 'for the glory of God lightens it, and *the Lamb* is the light thereof;' and the throne he beholds is the throne of *God and of the Lamb*. And does he return to communicate to his fellows the account of the marvels he has seen? does he tell them that a door was opened in heaven? can he speak of a throne and One who sat on it,—of elders and of cherubim; and shall he fail to mention the astounding mystery of an eternal sacrificial memorial, and pause without saying, 'And I beheld—a *Lamb as it had been slain*.'

The antitype of the high-priest's entrance into the sanctuary with blood must of course be found in our Lord's entrance into the heavens by his own blood (Heb. ix. 12). But there are difficulties in the way of our referring this period to his ascent from the Mount of Olives. 1. From the length of time elapsed since his death. The continuous, unbroken act of atonement in Lev. xvi. seems scarcely to admit of so wide an interval as this. In the type between the shedding of blood, and its being brought within the tabernacle, no period intervenes beyond what is necessary for the several successive actions of the high-priest. It is difficult then to suppose that forty days would intervene in the antitypical accomplishment. 2. The ascension from Mount Olivet was in the sight of the disciples—a visible, public act; and it was preceded by frequent and familiar intercourse and discourses with them; whereas while engaged in this solemn work, Aaron was in a peculiar manner separated to God, and disassociated from his sons and the congregation: 'There shall be no man in the tabernacle of the congregation when he goeth in to make an atonement in the holy place, until he come out,' &c. All has the character of a silent and secret ministration—one removed from the sight, and apart from the fellowship of every one but God. 3. The various important actions and words of our Lord, as his imparting of the Holy Ghost, and the authority and charge given to his Apostles (see John xx., Acts i. &c.), not only appear to disturb the order and close sequence of the typical atoning acts, but hardly to find a suitable place while such acts were still incomplete. Had no better hypothesis been left than to refer our Lord's entrance into the heavens by his blood, to his public ascent from Mount Olivet,

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we might still have been content to rest under the above difficulties, and seek their resolution in the necessary imperfection of all types, and the inadequacy of shadows to represent 'things to come' beyond a certain limit; one at which we are sure in any case to arrive sooner or later; and beyond which it is not wise to rest any thing upon them.

But another view has been proposed, which, whilst it does no violence to Scripture, is free from the embarrassments of the former—it is, that Jesus secretly ascended to the Father on the same day in which he rose from the dead. When Mary appeared desirous to touch him, he said to her, 'Touch me not; for I am not yet ascended to my Father: but go to my brethren, and say unto them, I ascend unto my Father, and your Father, and to my God, and your God.' The obvious ideas conveyed by these words are that Jesus was still in a peculiar manner, like the high-priest in the linen garments, separated to God, and not to be touched by man; that this character of absolute isolation would be put off after his ascension; and that that was on the point of taking place, 'Ἀναβαίνω πρὸς τὸν πατέρα μου, &c. It would seem then that before he appeared in the evening in the midst of the assembled disciples, and said '*Handle me, and see,*' &c. (Luke xxiv. 39), our Lord had ascended into heaven in pursuance of his atoning work and returned.

It may be doubted whether our Lord could have associated, as he did with his disciples, in the evening of the resurrection day; whether he could have said 'Peace be unto you;' imparted to them the Holy Ghost, and sent them as he himself had been sent by the Father, and with authority to remit and to retain sins; unless, in the character of the true Aaron, he had previously fulfilled the type of the presentation of blood in the sanctuary. These words and actions appear to pertain to a time posterior to atoning ministrations, and scarcely to admit of insertion within their series. They appear to proceed more fitly from a priest clothed in garments of glory and beauty, than in the pure white linen; they seem to bespeak the accomplishment of sacrificial work both in earth and heaven, and to lead the thoughts beyond it, to some of its happy results and privileges. The ascension from Mount Olivet was the period of Christ's being received up to glory; and being exalted to the right hand of God, the baptism of the Holy Ghost followed at Pentecost according to the promise, as testimony to his glorification. But the ascension, which there appears reason to believe took place very shortly after the resurrection, was *to the Father*, and is linked with other thoughts and associations than such as belong to the public ascension. When, after the former, Jesus breathed on his disciples, and said, 'Receive ye the Holy

Holy Ghost,' this was clearly not the Holy Ghost as the Spirit of power; but probably as the Spirit of adoption, and of communion of the mind with God. A passage that has been sometimes referred to this subject is John xvi. 16. The words, 'because I go to the Father,' have been supposed to relate to the brief period between the resurrection and his familiar intercourse with his disciples. But it is unsafe to press this text, which is capable of being otherwise explained, and probably means the same as in the tenth verse of the same chapter.^b

The above view which, even if incorrect, offends against no article of the faith, and is at least harmless, materially helps us in the exposition of Levit. xvi., and gives a fresh feature of interest to that chapter, as well as John xx. That it is not to be deduced from Heb. ix. is not surprising; as it belongs rather to such details as were not material for the Apostle to notice there, his great object being to show that Christ, unlike the annual entrances of the Jewish high-priest into the sanctuary, had entered in once for all, having obtained eternal redemption.

We may now proceed to verses 18 and 19 of our chapter. 'The altar that is before the Lord' is the golden altar of incense (Exod. xxx. 10). This was where Aaron and his sons could equally minister. It represents the place of heavenly worship to the people of God now (Rev. viii. 3, 4); where Christ's intercession covers all the imperfections of our service and worship, and where we, too, in our priestly character (Rev. i. 6; 1 Pet. ii. 9) are enabled to pray for ourselves and others (comp. Ps. cxli. 2; Luke i. 9, 10). For this altar in the tabernacle, atonement had to be made with the same blood as had previously been sprinkled on the mercy-seat. Christ's entrance into the heavens is the consecration for us of the *holy* as well as the most holy place. Personal acceptance, grace and mercy, are the things connected with the latter; the holy activities of priestly service and worship pertain to the former. Provision has been made by the blood of Christ for the believer both to approach the mercy-seat and to stand to by the altar of incense. So far from its being possible to commend ourselves naturally to God by means of prayer or works, we are not in a position to present either until we have recognized, by a living faith, the value of the blood of Jesus—first on the mercy-seat, and then on the horns of the golden altar. The activity and energies of the unregenerate soul can only produce 'dead works;' and the child of God himself knows that even he,

^b There is likewise some doubt as to the genuineness of this clause. It is marked in critical editions of the Testament as wanting in B and D; in the Cod. lat. Vercell. and Veron., and in other versions. It is cancelled by Tischendorf, and bracketed by Lachmann.

pardoned and accepted as he is, durst not venture to serve, or engage in any ministration except as standing in spirit where the blood meets the disqualification of his practical uncleanness, and where the incense rising up with his offerings, overpowers their imperfections by its fragrance.

It is a pity that our translators have varied so much in their rendering of *τὰ ἅγια* in the Epistle to the Hebrews (see viii. 2 ; ix. 8, 12, 24, 25 ; x. 19). The fact has been thus obscured that believers are concerned with *both* the inner courts, typical of heaven, and the heaven of heavens. Had the rendering in each instance been 'sanctuary' or 'holy places,' this would have appeared more distinctly ; doctrinal and practical truth of some importance is involved in it. Between extreme Calvinistic doctrine on the one hand, and Arminianism on the other, there is a scriptural medium, preserved in the shadows of the law, as well as the writings of the New Testament. There may be too exclusive a dwelling on *standing* in Christ to the neglect of the considerations of service and practical walk—of those parts of the divine life where Christ is associated with his servants in *action*. This is pressing too far the truths connected with the Holiest, and overlooking the important sphere where stand the altar and the candlestick, and the shew-bread table. Anything approaching to the high-minded pretensions of Antinomianism is checked by the remembrance of the provision made in that sphere for the privilege and responsibility of service. It is hardly necessary to allude to the various religious systems which are more or less characterized by the above-mentioned error. As a whole, Protestantism has probably been often chargeable with giving too little prominence to the practical results of the Christian's acceptance in Christ. On the other hand, Popery has ever been notorious for hiding that acceptance and the way to it, whilst insisting on human merits and works : it has, so to speak, made everything to turn on the ministrations in the holy place, and studiously kept back the blessings connected with the Holiest ; although, without a knowledge of the latter, the former can really have no place. What God hath joined together, let not man put asunder. The right combination of privilege and practice—of faith with a good conscience—of the grace in which we are accepted, with the responsibilities that flow from it—is taught, both by types and antitypes, by shadows and substance ; it is learned in the school of Bezaleel and Aholiab, as well as that of the Apostle to the Gentiles.

Immediately after the atonement made for the holy place and the altar, came the ceremony of the scape-goat (ver. 20-22). It might have pleased God to have accepted his Son's atoning work on earth and in heaven, without vouchsafing to those interested in it

it any outward token of his satisfaction. All might have been completed, and yet the happy certainty of the resulting blessing withheld. But it was his pleasure that the blessing should not be less really enjoyed than possessed. His people were to be rich in privilege, and to *know it*. No eye could follow Aaron when he lifted up the vail of the tabernacle, and entered upon his secret ministrations within; and proportionately with the high importance of his work, must have been the gratification derived from a visible symbolic transaction, as beautiful in its character as it was expressive and definite in the comfort it was designed to impart. The congregation beheld the live goat selected by the supreme will, for the purpose to which it was to be applied: they beheld Aaron lay both his hands upon its head, and make over it a minute confession of the long and humiliating list of the past year's offences; and if the recital of *all their iniquities, and all their transgressions in all their sins*, made, as well it might, even the children of Israel tremble, there was the remembrance that atoning blood had been sprinkled within the sanctuary; and the knowledge that the devoted animal, on the head of which these sins had been put, was presently to bear them all away into the wilderness, and would be seen no more again for ever.

This is the obvious signification of the ordinance of the scape-goat, which has been adverted to in the former parts of this Journal. Probably some may be of opinion that the difficulty connected with Azazel has often been over-stated, and that there is a strong *primâ facie* probability that any explanation of it derived from Jewish or heathen traditions, or depending upon them for any material support, is wide of the mark.^c The sufficiency of Scripture to be its own interpreter, must be insisted on; and to one who takes true and consistent ground in this respect, much learning and ingenuity will often appear to have been even worse than uselessly directed. Passing by the profane notion of Gesenius, Hengstenberg's view, even if open to no other objection, appears to encumber the subject with matter totally foreign to it, and destitute of the contextual support of the chapter. Is it not extremely unlikely, that so much as in the learned professor's view is made of Azazel, should not, if correct, have been more plainly intimated in the Scripture itself? But when we dismiss, as we may without ceremony, Egyptian comparisons, and lay aside Plutarch, as no help in this matter, are the Hebrew words really so perplexing as to oblige us to admit an antagonistic personality in Azazel? Many will, doubtless, think otherwise, and be dis-

^c Fürst's remark, Heb. Concord., s. v. אֶזָּזֵל, is a good rebuke to such speculations; 'cavendum est vero, ne figmenta, veritatis corruptelis orta, in hæc mysteria, a Deo revelata, profana cum sacris confundens, audacter inferas.'

posed to regard caper-emissarius, and its familiar English equivalent, as no such very bad interpretations of the original. At any rate, they will prefer to rest under the weight of one or two anomalies in the structure of a Hebrew compound, and a slight measure of embarrassment in its textual location, to adopting a theory which, to say the least, brings with it as many fresh difficulties as it removes old ones.^d

It remains that we should now seek for something in the circumstances of the work of our Lord answering to the scape-goat. Had Israel, to whom, as a nation, the new covenant in the first instance referred (Jerem. xxxi.), not been, with only a few exceptions, in unbelief, probably we should have been able to trace the fulfilment of the *outside* typical ceremonies of this day, as readily as we can find the correspondencies of the inner ministrations in the Lord's work in the heavenlies. But the national unbelief of that people to whom both the types and the realities at the beginning exclusively belonged, would appear to have occasioned chasms in the fulfilment of typical Scriptures, similar to those we are compelled to admit in many prophecies (see Isa. ix. 6, 7).

The broken thread of types and prophecies will be resumed in the Lord's dealings with Israel in the latter day. Meanwhile, the body now constituting the Church, composed of believing Jews and Gentiles (Rom. xi.), has a title by faith to the blessings temporarily forfeited by the Jews through unbelief. We can thus, as the 'Israel of God,' apply to ourselves many a precious text in the Old Testament, in which Israel after the flesh has no property. Whilst remembering the dispensational characteristics of the Word, and avoiding the frequent mistake of a loose and erroneous application of promises and precepts which are confined to the peculiarities of dispensations that are passed, many still admit of being claimed and used now, 'All things are yours.' Israel does not yet recognize the value of Christ's blood shed upon the cross; they know nothing of its virtue in the heavenly places. The time has not come when they will say, 'All we, like sheep, have gone astray; we have turned every one to his own way; and the Lord hath laid on him the iniquity of us all' (Isa. liii. 6); and no scape-goat has borne away their iniquities to the land of oblivion.

Nevertheless, those who are resting on the finished work of Jesus are not without the comfort shadowed forth by the scape-goat. After saying 'For by one offering he hath perfected for ever them that are sanctified' (Heb. x. 14), the Apostle adds,

^d An additional argument is, that the two goats are a sin-offering (v. 5), and therefore only present two aspects of the same thing.)—Remark communicated by a friend.)

*'Whereof the Holy Ghost also is a witness to us: and their sins and iniquities will I remember no more.'**

According to the above view, Christ's actual priestly ministrations for the church are (with reference to the types of this chapter) carried on in the garments of glory and beauty, those for which the white linen robes were provided being completely ended; so that a believer is now in possession of *all* the knowledge and privileges shadowed forth in Lev. xvi. To *Him* all is past; for him the burnt-offering (v. 24) has been offered, and the bodies of the victims have been burned without the camp (v. 27). But if a break must be made between verses 19 and 20 in the primary application of these ordinances to the nation of Israel, it may, and probably will, be resumed hereafter, when the prophecies concerning that people shall be fulfilled. It is true, no more blood will have to be shed; the heavenly places will be as ready for their worship when nationally converted as they are for each individual person, whether Jew or Gentile, who at present believes; but their admission into conscious liberty and realization of blessing may be connected with certain dealings on the part of Christ, resembling Aaron's work when he came out from the tabernacle. For a brief season the Lord may be presented to them, as it were, in the white linen; for it was in that dress that the high-priest confessed sins over the scape-goat; and it was only when the goat had been let go into the wilderness that he came into the tabernacle, put off the linen garments, and having washed his flesh with water, put on his (ordinary) garments, and finished with the burnt-offerings the ceremonial of the day.

Various prophecies of a great national humiliation to precede blessing may be, perhaps, viewed in this connection. (See *e. g.* Joel ii.; Zech. xii. 10-14; xiii. 1.)

An exposition of the typical signification of the ordinances of the day of atonement that shall be consistent in all its parts, and free from the loose and arbitrary mode of handling typical subjects, which tends much to obscure their beauty and instructive-

* The application of this text to the subject of the scape-goat in its bearing on our actual circumstances, I owe to the suggestion of a friend who has long given minute attention to the types of Leviticus, and whose work on the Tabernacle and its Vessels, &c., it is to be hoped, will not now remain long unpublished. 'I think also,' he adds, 'that the Lord coming with peace, and showing his hands and side to the disciples, was virtually the scape-goat to them. They needed no Holy Ghost (as it were), as we do to tell us. Probably Israel will, in like manner, look on the pierced One as Thomas did, and He will thus fulfil the scape-goat to them by and bye.'

† Lev. xxiii., in its allusion to the day of atonement, lays all its stress on the affliction of soul on that day, and passes over all the peculiarities of ch. xvi. This will probably be the way Israel will keep it hereafter.—(Communicated by the friend above alluded to.)

ness, and retard a sound understanding of them, will probably not be found, in some respects, an easy task by any, and it is one the writer of the above remarks by no means pretends to have accomplished; nevertheless, he offers them under correction of the spiritual judgment of others, and he will be glad if they contribute, even in a small measure, to the better understanding of the chapter. For some of the thoughts he is indebted to others, though alone responsible for the mode of their presentation.

A few remaining particulars are now to be noticed.

The *reality* of the imputation of sin to the victim is further set forth by the direction to Aaron (v. 24) to wash his flesh with water in the holy place; by a similar direction to the man that let go the goat (v. 26); and to him who burned the bodies of the animals outside the camp (v. 28). So thoroughly was sin regarded as transferred to these victims, that even the necessary contact with them brought with it defilement. Thus *really* was Christ made sin for us, who knew no sin; that we might be made the righteousness of God in him (2 Cor. v. 21).

The burnt-offering typifies Christ in death, in contrast with the meat-offering, which sets forth his living character. In the former the laying on of hands, as others have observed, identified the worshipper with the acceptableness of the victim: the same act in the *sin-offering* identified the victim with the guilt of the offerer, thus expressing the two-fold aspect of the work of Christ. In the 'sweet savour' of the burnt-offering our persons are accepted by God; its value is put upon them: it is not merely the getting rid of sin, although this aspect of the *one* sacrifice of Jesus is nevertheless described as atonement (Lev. i. 4), implying perhaps that the absence of good, as well as the presence of evil, needed to be covered. Now the recognition upon earth of the value of Christ as the burnt-offering seems appropriately to come after his offering for sin, his entrance by his blood into heaven, and the certainty of the possession on our part of the resulting blessings. And thus the arduous and important services of the day of atonement were closed by sacrifices which adumbrated the imputation of Christ's excellency to the worshipper; and the congregation beheld their high-priest once more clothed in his beautiful garments, standing by the brazen altar, from which the offerings made by fire sent up a sweet savour unto the Lord.

The application of v. 27 is made by the Apostle in Heb. xiii. 11-13. When we have understood the value of the blood brought into the sanctuary for sin, we are required to follow Jesus to the outside place, and to partake of the shame and reproach which he endured from an unbelieving world, and which will ever, in various degrees, attend the truthful confession of his name.

THE

THE SCHOOLS OF THE HEBREWS.

By DOM. AUGUSTIN CALMET.

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SCHOOLS have always been regarded amongst polished nations as the principal support of states. In schools are formed the clergy, the judges, the magistrates, the people: it is in them we learn religion, law, history, language, and science—knowledge the most important to the commonwealth, and the most useful in active life. It is on this account that the most enlightened princes and legislators have always considered the establishment and support of schools as the thing, above all others, most meriting their care; and they have ever directed their earliest efforts to the erection of academies, to the choice of masters, and the general promotion of the education of the young. We shall not at present extend our paper by citing the example of other nations in proof of our position; we confine our remarks to the Hebrews. We are about to exhibit amongst them an uninterrupted succession of schools and prophets, from Moses to Jesus Christ; after which, we shall examine what they tell us of their schools and of their studies, from their dispersion by the Romans till our own times.

The ancient Hebrews have, beyond all other nations, a double advantage as regards their schools. The first is connected with the worth and dignity of the masters, who were nearly all prophets or priests of the Lord. The second relates to the object of their pursuits, which were almost entirely restricted to the study of the divine law and the prophecies. Amongst other nations, philosophy, astronomy, geometry, music, rhetoric, and poetry, were held in high esteem. These arts were little cultivated by the Hebrews. Religion formed almost their sole pursuit. Hence arose their attachment to their rites and ceremonies, their strict obedience to their laws, their attention to the just education of the young, their love for their native land.* The patriarchs Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, were men filled with the spirit of the Lord, who took care themselves to train their families in knowledge, and in the fear of the Almighty. This knowledge was preserved amongst them, unaltered, unwritten, in man's memory

* Joseph. contra Appion. lib. i.

alone down to the time of Moses, who wrote the law by command of God. During all his life he was the instrument of the will of the Most High ; he declared it to Israel, and knew how to enforce its observance by his wisdom, his firmness, and his zeal. Never was there seen an instructor more learned, more devoted, more indefatigable. He never ceased, during the whole course of his life, to teach, to exhort, to admonish, to correct the great nation committed to his care.

Moses shared with his brother Aaron the responsibility of teaching Israel, who was, according to the expression of the Scripture, his prophet (Exod. vii. 1). He delegated also a portion of his power to a certain number of chosen men, whom he appointed to judge and govern Israel in matters to which he could not personally attend (Exod. xviii. 25). At last, the Lord in the wilderness took of the spirit of his servant, and communicated it to seventy men (Numb. xi. 25), who prophesied ever afterwards, and continued to instruct the people. God was, as it were, pledged to furnish to his chosen people a succession of prophets, who should teach them till the advent of *that* prophet who was to recal the children to the ways of their fathers, and turn the disobedient to the wisdom of the just (Luke i. 17). Indeed, from the time of Moses, we find a constant succession of inspired men down to the Babylonish captivity. The Jews close this succession of inspired writers with Ezra, Nehemiah, and those who then composed the Sanhedrim, and who formed the canon of Scripture; but the Christian Church^b admits to the rank of prophets also, the authors of the books of the Maccabees, those of Wisdom, and of Ecclesiasticus, who lived long enough after Esdras and Nehemiah ; and we see, even from the Gospel history, that at the birth of the Saviour the spirit of prophecy was not extinct in Israel, since Zacharias, father of St. John, St. Elizabeth, St. John the Baptist, Anne the Prophetess, Simeon the Just, were true prophets. Josephus himself^c mentions the high priest Hyrcanus as a prophet, and speaks of a private person named Jesus, who predicted, long before the event, the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans.^d

To Moses succeeded Joshua in the prophetic office (Deut. xxxiv. 9) ; that is to say, in the position of master and doctor of Israel. He kept the nation to its duty, and to the practice of the law of the Lord, by his instructions, by his miracles, by his authority, by his example. A little before his death (Josh. xxiv. 1)

^b Calmet, of course, means the Roman Catholic Church, which acknowledges the inspiration of the Apocrypha. (Tr.)

^c Joseph. lib. i. ; *de Bello*, c. 3 ; *Antiq.* c. xviii.

^d Joseph. lib. vii. ; *de Bello*, c. 12.

he assembled his people, and renewed with them the alliance of the Lord. He had sufficient confidence in them to offer them the choice of serving the God of their fathers, or the gods of the Amorites. 'Choose you this day whom ye will serve.' 'For me,' he added, 'and my house, we will serve the Lord.' The elders who had seen Moses, and been instructed by Joshua, preserved the deposit of the faith and of religion in its purity (Joshua xxiv. 31). But after their death the hearts of the people became gradually corrupted, and though the Lord from time to time raised up to them prophets and liberators, they were never constant in his ways till the time of Samuel, who reformed the state by establishing schools, or assemblies of the prophets among whom he lived.

It was probably at that period that were formed those celebrated assemblies, whence issued so many prophets and illustrious men. They existed at Naioth under Samuel; in the plain of Jericho and at Bethel, under Elisha and Elijah: there flourished also a great number even in the kingdom of Israel. The rabbis maintain that there were instances in all the towns of the country. Lightfoot believes* that Elijah had one upon Mount Carmel; but we only acknowledge such as are clearly pointed out in the sacred writings. People resorted to the prophets in order to learn what was to come, as when Saul went to ask Samuel about the asses of his father (1 Sam. ix. 10): they were also consulted about diseases, by Jeroboam about the sickness of his son (1 Kings xiv. 2), and by Ahaziah about his fall (2 Kings i. 2). Men flocked to hear them on the Sabbath days, and on the new moons to receive instruction, as the Shunammite informs us (2 Kings iv. 23). These prophets were a barrier against idolatry, ignorance, and libertinism. They offered a noble opposition to wicked despots, and to a corrupted populace. They boldly threatened princes on their thrones, and produced in their presence the terrible effects of God's wrathful indignation. They sometimes caused the fire of heaven to fall on bold and impious men. Their teachings and their commands were followed by miraculous results. The powers of nature obeyed them, and the fiercest animals were submissive to their sway. Still, neither the holiness of their lives, nor the display of their miracles, nor the vigour of their addresses, nor their status and influence with the people, could protect them from persecution. They were seen wandering, fugitive, persecuted, reduced to hide themselves in the clefts of the rocks and in the depth of the most frightful solitudes (Heb. xi. 38; 2 Kings xix. 4; 1 Kings xviii. 4), and nearly all died violent deaths in defence of the truth.

* Lightfoot, *Centur.*, p. 665.

Here, then, is the finest succession of learned men, and the most distinguished perpetuation of schools that could be desired. Such masters could not but preserve, in all its purity, the tradition of the learning derived from God himself. Nor do we see, amongst the ancient Hebrews, that variety of opinions which we notice in other nations; still less those doubts on the very essentials of religion, those controversies, those differences amongst theologians. All speak the same language—all have the same belief, because they are inspired and illumined by the same spirit. The division of their sages into different sects did not take place till long after the captivity.

The Pharisees, the Sadducees, the Essenes, were not known till after the Maccabees, when prophecy was much rarer than formerly in Israel. Each of these sects had its separate school, and its separate disciples; but God did not permit their division to go so far as to break the unity of faith, and the community of religion. They met in the same temple and in the same synagogues, had the same ceremonies, read the same Scriptures, and all agreed in this principle, that the Messiah, the Mediator, the Prophet, the one promised by Moses, would remove all their doubts, and reunite their hearts and minds. They all lived in this belief, and in this expectation. On this point, at least, there was no diversity of sentiment, no alienation in thought or feeling.

Another channel of tradition and doctrine among the Hebrews was that of the priests. Moses had committed to their care the instruction and the government of the people, not only in what concerns religion, but also in state policy. They were the hereditary masters and judges of Israel. 'If there arise a matter too hard for thee in judgment,' says Moses (Deut. xvii. 8, 9, 12), 'between blood and blood, between plea and plea, and between stroke and stroke, being matters of controversy within thy gates: then shalt thou arise, and get thee up into the place which the Lord thy God shall choose. And thou shalt come unto the priests the Levites, and unto the judge that shall be in those days, and inquire; and they shall shew thee the sentence of judgment: and thou shalt do according to the sentence which they, of that place which the Lord shall choose, shall shew thee; and thou shalt observe to do according to all that they inform thee: according to the sentence of the law which they shall teach thee, and according to the judgment which they shall tell thee, thou shalt do: thou shalt not decline from the sentence which they shall shew thee to the right hand, nor to the left. And the man that will do presumptuously, and will not hearken unto the priest that standeth to minister there before the Lord thy God,

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or unto the judge, even that man shall die, and thou shalt put away the evil from Israel.'

The duties of the priests were studying and teaching the law, the administration of justice, and the ministry of the Word (Deut. xxxiii. 10): they were to be ever ready to reply to questions propounded on the law (Jerem. xviii. 18). 'The law shall not perish from the priest, nor counsel from the wise, nor the word from the prophet.' The Lord declares in Hosea (iv. 6), that he has rejected from his priesthood him who had rejected knowledge; and in Malachi (ii. 7), that the priest's lips should keep knowledge, and they should seek the law at his mouth. The priests, says Josephus,[†] are continually occupied in the study of the law and other branches of knowledge, because they are charged with the decision of cases, and with the suppression of those mischiefs which are committed in the state. Such were the masters and the depositaries of learning. They were either men supernaturally guided by God's spirit, or priests, serious and sedate, occupied all their lives in the study of the law, and in the worship of the Most High.

The place in which they taught was the temple of the Lord. As the people assembled there three times a-year, the priests and the prophets failed not, at these three grand solemnities, to address them, and to make known the will of God. There they read the law of the Lord, and expounded it to the people (Neh. viii. 8). There the prophets preached and rebuked the disorders which were creeping into the nation, whether respecting idolatry or other abuses. The houses of the priests, and their halls of assembly and of council in the temple, were like schools, always open to any one desirous of consulting the officials on the different observances of the law in cases that occurred; for, as we have already said, the principal and almost the only study of the ancient Hebrews was the ceremonial law. It is believed that they had schools, not only in the temple and at Jerusalem, but also in all the cities of the Levites.

The prophets had also their separate schools. These were institutions to which the children or the disciples of the prophets resorted; and they were the most numerous attended and the most celebrated under Samuel, and subsequently under Elisha and Elijah. Their residence was in the country, where they had all things in common, and lived a life of frugality, poverty, and toil. Yet they had always sufficient leisure to devote to study and contemplation, because their desires were easily satisfied, and because, removed from frivolous pursuits, they still found time

[†] Lib. ii. contra Appion.

enough after their bodily labours for the loftier exercise of mind. Thither the people came to have doubts removed, and duties taught. They found in the prophets precept enforced by example—the moral beauty of a holy life; they found instruction for time, and preparation for eternity. They were the most trustworthy and most enlightened interpreters of the law. Their whole being was radiant with instruction; their sermons, their prophecies, their denunciations, their life, their very external demeanour.

Their disciples were either prophets, like themselves, or simply their pupils, and imitators of their virtues and of their manner of life. For prophecy is not an art to be acquired in schools of human learning; it is a free gift conferred by the Holy Spirit on those whom he destines to this office. Grotius,^g following the Rabbis, advances the opinion, that it was rare in the Old Testament to find prophets who had not previously devoted much time to physical and metaphysical pursuits; and that which made the call of Amos be considered so extraordinary, was that he had never attended the schools of the prophets. But this opinion is entirely destitute of solid foundation. Jeremiah was destined to the prophetic office even before his birth; Elisha had never studied under the prophets, nor David, nor Daniel, nor many others.

To these communities of prophets and to these schools over which the Holy Spirit presided, succeeded the synagogues. It is doubtful if there were any before the Captivity. But it would be very difficult to believe that they could have been dispensed with in all the country during so long a period. May we not regard as a synagogue the house of the prophet Elisha, to which the Shunammite and other pious persons repaired on the Sabbath days and the new moons (2 Kings iv. 23)? Nebuchadnezzar burned all the synagogues of the country, as appears by Ps. lxxiv. 8 (one of Asaph's), written during the Captivity. Judith (Jud. vi. 21) passed the night in the place of the assembly—the church. We notice some also at Shushan in the time of Esther and Mordecai (Esther iv. 16). The captive people sometimes met at the house of Ezekiel to hear him (Ezek. xxxiii. 31). St. James (Acts xv. 21), in the Acts, says that Moses of old time hath in every city them that preach him, being read in the synagogues every Sabbath-day; which proves^h that the use of synagogues was very ancient in Israel. If we find elsewhere, in the Vulgate and in the Septua-

^g Grot. in Sap. vii. 27.

^h This is hardly a just inference, for the passage quoted from the Acts merely shows that 'Moses was read in the synagogues every Sabbath day'; in other words, that the writings of Moses were *then*, and had been for ages, read in public; but it neither asserts nor implies that '*synagogues*' were coeval with the origin of the Mosaic institutions. See Jahn's *Archæologia Biblica*, sect. 343-4. (Tr.)

gint, the name of synagogue, it signifies merely the place of meeting for the people or the multitude of Israel. But after the Captivity the number of synagogues was great; they were the places for prayer, for religious assemblies, for the ceremonies of the law, for the worship of God; there the Scriptures were read and expounded, the people preached to and catechized. The Hebrews assure us that the synagogues increased to such an extent during the last days of their republic, that there were in Jerusalem alone 394, according to some, or 460 according to others. Every trade had its own, and strangers had several.¹ St. Luke (Acts xxiv. 12) speaks of the synagogues of Jerusalem. The Talmud also mentions the one erected by the Alexandrians, at their own expense. That of the Libertines is celebrated in the Acts of the Apostles (Acts vi. 9). Each synagogue had its judges, its patriarchs, its apostles, its president, its chiefs, and other ministers, whom it called angels or messengers. The evangelist speaks of the chief of the synagogue under the name of Archisynagogos (Mark v. 22, 35, 36; Luke xiii. 14).

It is believed that St. Paul alludes to the angels of the synagogue when he wishes that the women should remain veiled 'because of the angels' (1 Cor. xi. 10). The judges of the synagogue exercised their authority over those who openly violated the law of God, or taught false doctrine. It was by them that St. Stephen was stoned (Acts vii. 57), and St. Paul beaten with rods (2 Cor. xi. 24; Matt. x. 17). Much was written during last century^k on certain officers whom they called the birds of the synagogue, but that is foreign to our subject. Some learned men^m believe that the synagogue often served for a school, but also that sometimes there was a school attached to the synagogue.

The method of teaching in the synagogue and the discipline therein observed are distinctly stated in the Gospel and the Acts. Jesus Christ, having entered into that of Nazareth, his native place, according to his custom, and having offered (Luke iv. 16) to read, they put into his hands the book of the prophet Isaiah; he unrolled it, and, having read a passage of the prophet, rolled it up again, and *sat down* to speak. St. Paul on one occasion went into the synagogue of Antioch (Acts xiii. 14), and after the reading of the law and of the prophets, the rulers of the synagogue sent to say to St. Paul and to Barnabas that if they had anything to address to the people, they might speak. St. Paul, to respond to the invitation and to acknowledge the courtesy of the rulers, rose, and extending the hand requested silence,

¹ Burman, *Dissert.*, p. 257; Vitringa, *De Syn. Vet.*, lib. ii. p. 2.

^k See Lightfoot, Vitringa, and Basnage, *History of the Jews*, book ix. c. 26.

^m Vitringa, *De Syn.*, book i., part i.

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and began to announce to them Jesus Christ. There were sometimes discussions in these synagogues, and not unfrequently violent debates took place, as happened several times when St. Paul and the other apostles announced truths opposed to the prejudices or the inclinations of the audience.

The Hebrewsⁿ inform us that till the time of Gamaliel the law was heard standing; that is to say, according to Grotius (Acts xxii. 3), that the text was read and the people listened standing up, as with us when reading the Gospel for the day, but that afterwards they sat down during the exposition. Our Saviour, having entered the synagogue of Nazareth, read the law standing, and sat down after he had shut the book and given it back to the minister (Luke iv. 16). St. Paul says that he had studied the law at the feet of Gamaliel (Acts xxii. 3). Philo relates that in the assemblies of the Essenes the children are seated at the feet of their masters, who interpret to them the law and unfold its allegorical signification, in the manner of the ancient philosophers.^o The author of the commentary published under the name of St. Ambrosius, on the First Epistle to the Corinthians,^p distinguishes two classes of scholars in the schools of the Hebrew masters:—‘The rabbies are seated on elevated chairs; the more learned scholars and more advanced are on benches below their masters, and the youngest are squatted on the ground on mats.’ The following was the ancient practice of the schools, and, apparently, of the synagogues.

The chief, or the master of the synagogue or of the academy, occupied the first place, and his scholars formed a circle round him, so that he could be seen and heard by all. And the master was not seated while his scholars stood below, says the Talmud,^q but they were either all seated or all standing. However, it adds, at the opening the master was in his chair, and the pupils on their feet. But this practice changed even before the destruction of the Temple by the Romans,—the master and the pupils in the way we have seen above. The master taught either by himself or by an interpreter.^r If he employed an interpreter, he spoke to him in Hebrew, and the latter explained to the assembly, in the vulgar tongue, what the master had said to him. If the scholars wished to ask some question of the master, they addressed themselves to the interpreter, who proposed it to the rabbi, and reported to the scholars the answer the master had delivered.

It was the multitude of scholars and doctors, and the diversity

ⁿ Talmud, tit. מניין.

^o Philo, Lib. *Quod omnis probus liber.*

^p Ambros., 1 Cor. 14.

^q Talmud Thora., c. iv. § 3.

^r Ibid., c. iv. § 45.

of their opinions, that in later times compelled the establishment of so many academies or private schools. The Jews were astonished that Jesus Christ could speak so well, and possessed so great a talent for explaining the Scriptures, seeing that he had never attended the schools of the doctors (John vii. 15). St. Paul had been sent from Tarsus to Jerusalem to study, and at his time all the city was full of scribes, of savans, and of doctors of the law.

St. Jerome says,* that a little before the birth of Jesus Christ, two famous rabbies, Shammai and Hillel, heads of two famous schools, formed two parties amongst the Jews, and were masters to the scribes and pharisees. Akiba succeeded them, and was master, it is said, to the proselyte Aquila. Akiba was succeeded by Meir; after whom appeared John, son of Zachai; then Eliezer, and afterwards Delphon, Joseph the Galilean; and finally Joshua, who presided over this school till the captivity of Jerusalem. It is in this manner that the Jews brought down the tradition of their doctors to the time of Jerome. They referred their *Deuteroses* (*ΔΕΥΤΕΡΩΣΕΙΣ*) or *Misna* to Shammai and to Hillel, but the modern Jews trace the succession of their schools in another way. As to what St. Jerome says of the origin of the pharisees, it is not exactly true. We shall make it evident in our dissertation on the sects of the Jews that the pharisees are much more ancient than Hillel, and that we must assign to them an antiquity at least coeval with the beginning of the Maccabees.

After the fall of Jerusalem—the capital, we may say, of the whole nation—an academy was established at Japhne,[†] a town of Palestine, since called Joelin;[‡] it is, perhaps, the same which is in Josephus called Japha,[§] and the inhabitants Japhenians. He says that it was one of the largest, most populous, and best fortified cities of Galilee. It was not far from Jotapat, but its precise locality is unknown. Some maintain that Gamaliel, teacher of St. Paul, was a professor in this college.

There was, it is said, at the same period another academy or college at Lydda, or Diospolis, situated in the lot of Ephraim, at eight or ten leagues to the north of Jerusalem. The famous Akiba taught there; Gamaliel made him leave it, took his place at Lydda, and ceded to him that which he had formerly occupied at Japhne. After the death of Gamaliel appeared Tarphon, who presided over the same school. But the most renowned academy of the country at this period was that of Tiberias, a town situated on the lake of Gennesareth, otherwise called the sea of Tiberias. The number of scholars increased by the reputation of the masters, who

* Jerome on Isaiah, cap. viii.

† Morin, *Exercit. Bibl.*, l. 2, exerc. 2, c. 3. n. 2.

‡ Benj. Tudela, *Iter*.

§ Joseph. *De Bello*, l. iii. c. 21.

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are still revered by the Jews as the most famous of their teachers. The schools of Japhne and of Lydda became almost deserted by the proximity of Tiberias, which attracted all the students. Judah the Holy, disciple of Meir, taught there. Judah was one of the descendants of the famous Hillel the elder. To Judah succeeded Chamna, and to him Jochanan, the last of the doctors of Tiberias. It was in this famous school that the Mishnah was composed, and the Talmud of Jerusalem. Finally, it was there they pretend the Masorites *pointed* the Hebrew text of the Bible, which till that period had possessed no vowel points. But as to this last statement, it is combated by very skilful parties, and with such powerful arguments, that it is not easy to resist them, and not to acknowledge that the vowel points are of a much more recent invention.

As to the Mishnah, it is known by the ancient fathers under the name of Deuteroses or second Law. Eusebius accuses the Jews of destroying the true sense of the Scriptures by the frivolous interpretations of their Deuteroses. Epiphanius says that they quote four sorts of them. The first bears the name of Moses ; the second, that of Akiba ; the third, that of Adda or of Juda ; and the fourth, that of the children of the Asmoneans or of the Macabees. It is difficult to say if the modern Mishnah is the same as those, and if it contains all, or is different from one of them ; but it is certain that they have never been of any authority in the church, and that the fathers considered them a tissue of fables. Jerome knew of these said Deuteroses, speaks of them more than once, and always with sovereign contempt. He regarded them as a collection of fabulous tales, puerilities and obscenities. He says that the chief authors of these beautiful expositions are, according to the Jews, Bar-Akiba, Simeon, and Helles. This Bar-Akiba is the father, or grandfather, of the famous Akiba. Simeon is the same as Shammai ; and Helles the same as Hillel, so famous amongst the rabbis.

Judah the Holy, after some stay at Tiberias, retired to Sephoris, which, in the time of Josephus, was regarded as the capital of Galilee, and as the strongest city of the country.⁷ It was at the north of Tiberias, and west of the lake of Gennesareth. The learning and the reputation of Judas drew thither a great number of students, and there he died after seventeen years' professorship. Such were the principal schools of Palestine.

But when we wish to reconcile this narrative with the true history of the Jews, there is some trouble in extricating the matter from the difficulties which present themselves. We know from

⁷ Joseph., lib. iii. *De Bello*, c. 3.

the history of Josephus that all the towns of Galilee, and especially Japha, Sephora, and Tiberias, were utterly ruined by the Romans, not only during the war which Vespasian and Titus waged in the land, but still more in that carried on by Adrian; so much so that till the fourth century Jews were not permitted to appear in the country.^a St. Jerome, who lived at this period, has left it on record that the Jews had very few learned men:—‘Dicerem quid ab Hebræorum magistris vix uno et altero acceperim; quorum et apud ipsos jam rara avis est, dum omnes deliciis student et pecuniis.’^a Besides, in order to prop up their traditions, they give their doctors such extraordinary longevity, that it is easily seen they have no certain principle on which they found their history, and that all they tell of it is either fabulous or at least filled with anachronisms. (The reader may consult M. Morin’s *Exercises*, book ii. Exercit. 2, c. 1.) According to the Jews, the academies of Palestine did not subsist longer than the third century after Christ.

From the close of the Talmud of Jerusalem, during 187 or at least 150 years, the Hebrews have no distinct knowledge of their history;^b and from the death of the doctors of Palestine of whom we have spoken, which event is placed about the middle of the third century, there is no more mention made of this country than if there had never been a Jew in it; which it is important to remark, in order to understand the feeble nature of the succession in the tradition of the Jewish schools. Failing the academies of Palestine, they go in search of some beyond the Euphrates—at Sora, at Pundebita, at Nahardea, at Machuza, and at Peruz Schibbur. Most of these towns were in Babylonia, and on the Euphrates; but their situations are so uncertain that the most ingenious are at a loss where to place them. Bochart, Vautel, and after them Cellarius,^c have examined the question without arriving at any certain conclusion. But we need not contend with them about these Babylonish schools; they fix the commencement of them about A.D. 220. It was the rabbis Rab and Samuel, disciples of Judah the Holy, that founded them; and they subsisted, say they, for 800 years, till about A.D. 1030. Then these schools were suppressed by the Saracens, at that time dominant in Babylonia and Persia.

From the ashes of these schools of the Euphrates arose those of Egypt and of Europe. It was chiefly in Spain that the Jews found refuge. The principal rabbis whose writings have reached

^a Euseb. in Isa. vi.; Hieron. in Sophon. i., and in Isai. vi.

^a Ieron. præf. in Osea i.

^b Morin, *Exerc. Bib.*, t. ii. ex. 2; and Basnage, *Hist. des Juifs*, l. ix. c. 3.

^c Vide Cellar. *Geog. Antiq.*, t. ii. l. 3, p. 460.

our day lived since that time ; for instance, the rabbi Nathan, Principal of the College of Rome, at the commencement of the twelfth century. He explained all the terms of the Talmud, and died at Rome in 1106. Abenezra finished his career at Rhodes in 1174 : he was a skilful astronomer, physician, and grammarian : he is one of those that have succeeded best in the explanation of the literal sense of the Bible. Moses, son of Maimon, or Maimonides, appeared in the same century : he was born at Cordova in 1131 or 1133 ; his father boasted of being of the lineage of David. Maimonides was a pupil of Averroes, then in the full lustre of his reputation in Spain : he retired to Egypt, where he spent the rest of his days, a circumstance which procured him the epithet of the Egyptian. In that country he distinguished himself by his knowledge and by his skill in the art of medicine. He is suspected of having embraced, at least secretly, the religion of Mahomet ; it is certain that he held very lax opinions on idolatry.^d He founded an academy at Alexandria, to which his reputation attracted a great concourse of disciples. It is said that he understood not only Hebrew, but also Greek and Arabic : he died about A.D. 1205 or 1208.

The Rabbi Solomon, son of Isaac, and surnamed Raschi, which is the contraction of his own and his father's names, otherwise called Jarchi, because he was, it is said, a native of Lunel in Provence, though others consider Noyes, in Champagne, his birthplace, flourished in the twelfth century, and was contemporary with Maimonides, as well as of Kimchi, another famous rabbi, of whom we shall afterwards speak. Raschi travelled in different countries, Italy, Greece, and Palestine ; he then went to Egypt to visit the famous Moses, son of Maimon. He applied himself to a Commentary on the Bible and various treatises of the Talmud : he died at Treves, aged seventy-five years, in 1180 : his body was transported to Prague. Raschi was versant in languages, and was peculiarly skilful in medicine and astronomy : he was for some time at the head of the synagogue of Montpellier. He had as his disciples the rabbis David and Jona, who, with their master, opposed the doctrines of the followers of Maimonides. They burned the writings of this doctor, and excommunicated those who read them. The rabbis of Narbonne, at whose head was the famous Kimchi, undertook the defence of Maimonides, with the majority of the Spanish rabbis. This controversy, after lasting forty years, terminated in favour of Maimonides and his partizans.

David Kimchi, of whom we have just spoken, was the son of

^d Basnage, *Hist. des Juifs*, t. vii. c. 9, n. 7-11.

Joseph Kimchi, a Spaniard, and a bitter enemy of the Christians. He was born at Narbonne, then under the dominion of Spain. Thus David Kimchi was both Spaniard and Frenchman at the same time in different senses. He has written various commentaries on the Scriptures, in high esteem as expository of the literal sense. His father Joseph Kimchi and his brother Moses, were also learned men and composed some works; but David was more talented than either father or brother. The Jews, in allusion to his name, which signifies 'miller,' say commonly that 'there is no flour without the *miller*,' meaning that there is no knowledge of law without Kimchi. Men assign him the rank of the prince of grammarians and interpreters. He flourished from 1200 to 1250.

In short, in this century the Jews possessed men distinguished in all the sciences. They had excellent grammarians, as Kimchi; they had famous poets, as Juda Alcarizi, Hallevi, Joseph Haddaian de Cordova; they had astronomers, such as Abraham Chiia, Abraham Nasi, and Abenezra. They had eminent teachers, and the French boast, above all, of Isaac le Vieux, who had sixty scholars so versed in the Gemara that they could argue affirmatively or negatively on any subject that could be proposed. Juda of Paris, who was one of his pupils, created a great sensation in the succeeding century. They had also Cabalists and celebrated Caraites. Besides the famous Rabbi Jarchi, France produced the Rabbi Gerson. Some consider Mayence his birth-place, but it is more probable that he was a Frenchman. He published in France his book of *The Constitutions*. The Jews called him '*The Light of the French Captivity*.' His collection of laws was not received till the middle of the thirteenth century; he himself lived in the eleventh: he died, according to some, in 1028, and according to others forty years later.

One of his most eminent pupils was Jacob of Jekar, a great musician, and celebrated for his decisions in cases of conscience. Judas, surnamed Albarcellonita, or the Doctor of Barcelona, had also studied under the Rabbi Gerson, as well as Moses Hadarscian, or the Preacher. He was a native of Narbonne, and it is said that he introduced, or at least revived, the custom of preaching in the synagogues, which till then had been much neglected. Their literature and science followed the fortune of the Jews in France and Spain. So long as the nation enjoyed peace, letters were cultivated—they were neglected in times of persecution and disgrace.

Germany did not receive the Jews so soon, or at any rate they did not so soon establish schools as in France and in Spain, but the institutions lasted longer and more peacefully, and since the

thirteenth century there have been some famous rabbis in that country. The town of Germesheim alone produced two, the one named Baruch, the other Eliezer of Germesheim. This last learned the Cabala from Moses, the son of Nachman, who died in 1260, aged sixty-six years. Isaac of Vienne wrote some works upon the Scriptures. He devoted himself to transcribing books for the synagogues of his country, in order to render them more correct. He flourished about 1242: his pupil was Meyer of Rottembourg, who excelled his master, and became judge and doctor of his nation. The Emperor Adolphus of Nassau, or rather Albert of Austria, son of Rodolph, took Meyer prisoner in 1299. Rabbi Rasser of Ramburg became security for his master, but Meyer, not being able to raise the sum required for his ransom, died in prison in 1305, and Rasser was obliged to escape to Spain. The Rabbi Amnon distinguished himself about 1242 in the diocese of Mayence. The Jews would fain make a martyr of him, alleging that the Archbishop of Mayence cut off the rabbi's toes and fingers, and that he ascended to heaven in presence of all the synagogue.

Italy, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, produced some learned rabbis. The expenditure incurred by Daniel Bomberg, printer at Venice, for his edition of the Hebrew Bible and of the works of the rabbis, drew around him a great many. It is stated that he maintained at his own cost more than one hundred to correct the proofs and to compose books for the use of the Jews. The Rabbi David Ganz, author of the book entitled *Germe of David*, printed in 1587, lived at this time in Italy. Rabbi Zimcha, otherwise Simeon Lusati, published his *Socrates* at Venice in 1638: it was also at Venice that Samuel Nachmias lived, though originally from Thessalonica. The little village of Soncino became also famous for its editions of rabbinical works undertaken there by some Jews who had left Spire in 1490. There was likewise a synagogue at Imola, and there was born, in 1500, the famous Gedalia, of Portuguese origin: his grandfather was head of the academy of the synagogue of Naples when Charles V. expelled the Jews in 1539. We notice at Modena another synagogue, at the head of which was the Rabbi Samuel, who published, in 1550, the *Judgment of Solomon*. This book is a course of canon law, according to the Jews. There was also, in 1558, an academy at Padua, whose rector was Rabbi Meyer, and at which Joseph of Padua and Isaac Phea distinguished themselves by their attainments about this period.

The synagogue and the academy of Mantua have long been illustrious. Leon of Mantua and Colon conducted these institutions during the fifteenth century: they were expelled from the town

town by the Duke of Mantua, in consequence of the divisions they caused. Moses the elder succeeded them in their office, and soon won a distinguished reputation for knowledge. In short, without waiting to swell this catalogue, we may confidently assert that the Jews have in Europe never been without learned men since the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and that in the opinion of competent judges they are vastly superior to the Orientals in the solidity and extent of their acquirements. But it must be admitted that this extent is but limited, and the solidity but slender compared with what we expect from writers who profess to treat of religious matters.

There is then a tradition and a succession of schools and academies amongst the Jews from the commencement of their nation to the present time. They generally divide the descent of their doctors into nine classes. The first comprehends Moses, Joshua, Eliezar, and the seventy ancients to whom God communicated his holy spirit. The second includes those ancients who had seen Moses, Joshua, and Eleazar, and who had learned from their mouths the laws of the Lord: in this class are embraced all the judges to the number of twelve, of whom the first is Othniel and the last Eeli. The third is that of the prophets who have received from hand to hand the tradition of the fathers: this chain begins with Samuel and ends with Ezekiel; it comprehends all the prophets from Samuel to the Babylonish Captivity. The fourth is of members of the great synagogue, which was composed of Haggai, Zachariah, Malachi, Zorobabel, Mordecai, Ezras, Jesus son of Josedech, Saraias, and many others, making the number of 120 men; they make the greater part of them live till the period of Alexander the Great.

The fifth class is that of the sages of the Mishnah, or those of whom mention is made in the Mishnah. They usually give them the name of Thavaims or Traditionists, and they represent them as living from the days of Alexander the Great to the time of Judah the Holy, head of the school of Tiberias, author of the Mishnah, which he composed 120 years after the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans. The sixth is that of the *speaking* doctors, Amoraim, that is to say, those who explained the text of the Mishnah. The commentaries of these doctors compose the body of the Talmud, not only that of Jerusalem, but also of Babylon: their duration is from the death of Judah, surnamed the Holy, to the close of the Talmud. This last epoch is not very certain. It is believed that the Talmud of Jerusalem was undertaken a little after the death of Judah, and that that of Babylon was not done till a hundred years afterwards. Some assign the completion
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of it to the third, others to the fourth, and others to the fifth century. Morin maintains that it was not finished till the end of the eighth century of our era.

To the *speaking* doctors, or commentators on the Mishnah, succeeded the *Seboraim*, that is to say, the speculative doctors or sceptics. The period during which they flourished is not well determined, owing, it is said, to the persecutions of the Persian kings.* We have already remarked that after the death of Judah the Holy the schools, and with them the sciences, passed over the Euphrates about the middle of the third century of the Christian era. The eighth class of *savans* is that of the *Geonims*, or Excellent ones, the name assumed by the Babylonish doctors, who dwelt at Sora, Pondebita, and Nahardea, and other places prior to 1037. Lastly, the ninth class is that of the simple rabbis, still subsisting in all countries in which Jews are found, and in which they are permitted the free exercise of their religion. The rabbis are divided into three sects, the Rabbanists, the Cabalists, and the Caraites, following each a peculiar system. The Rabbanists are much attached to traditions and to the explanations of their ancestors. They pretend that the traditions contained in the Talmud were all revealed to Moses on Mount Sinai at the same time that he received the law, and that therefore these traditionary revelations possess an authority equal to that of the law itself. The Cabalists profess a secret and mysterious science, depending on trifles, verbal quibbles, calculations, fanciful connection of letters and figures, without solid grounds or certain principles. The Caraites are more devoted to the letter of the written law than are the others; they do not admit indiscriminately every sort of tradition, nor do they, on the other hand, reject all. These last are the least bigoted and the most sensible of the doctors of the synagogue.

The three first classes of doctors, from Moses to the Captivity, furnish us with a succession of doctrine the most indisputable and the most authentic that can be desired; and since the Holy Spirit inspired those who composed it, we may add, of an authority that cannot err. And although the imagination of the rabbis has cast some shades and engrafted some fables on the succession, and on the order of the members of the great synagogue, we do not refuse to acknowledge the marks of a true tradition, Israel being at that time still the true Church, and the Holy Spirit being not yet extinct in those who were its rulers and the members of the fold.

* See Basnage, *Hist. of the Jews*, book x. c. 2.

But after the time of Christ and the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans, we find but little to be depended on in the history of the Hebrews—reveries in their writings, ignorance in their schools, darkness in their minds. The Holy Spirit having withdrawn, they are like blind men at noontide, chasing shadows and turning their backs on the truth which surrounds them. Whether we consider the books which they hold essential next to the Bible, as the Mishnah, the Gemara, the Talmuds, and the Targums, or whether we regard their commentaries on these books, or their histories or their interpretations of the Scriptures, or their controversial writings, we see nothing in them but fables and frivolities. We everywhere discern the clearest indications of a nation thoroughly hardened and justly abandoned to its reprobate desires.

The first source of the corruption of the doctrine and of the fall of the Hebrew schools is, as we have already hinted, their hardening in error. From the time of their rejecting Jesus, God has rejected them, and the truth has left them. The second source, a consequence of the first, is, on the one side, the want of an authority sure, divine, and infallible to govern their opinions; and on the other, their blind deference to ignorant men, themselves blinded by their own presumption. Since they substituted the doctrine of men for that of the Holy Spirit—human traditions for divine truths—the decisions of unauthorised doctors for those of the ancient prophets and of Moses himself, we have seen reigning amongst them division in their religious opinions, error in their private studies, ignorance and obstinacy in their public schools. It is by virtues and qualities all the reverse of these that the Church Catholic preserves purity of faith, uniformity in doctrine, truth in everything that she makes the object of her study and her care.

[There is little information of more recent date to add to the statements contained in the above Dissertation. The Jewish youth of the Continent now make use of the Christian schools and colleges, and take in them the usual degrees. The following passage from the 'Fundamental Principles of Modern Judaism investigated,' by Moses Margoliouth, has been pointed out to us as containing the best account of the existing literary societies of the Jews, and will form a suitable appendix to this article.]—EDITOR.

Since very little is known about the different societies existing amongst the Jews, it will be desirable to give a short sketch of a few of them, especially of the literary ones; for besides their many benevolent societies, which are highly commendable, (for every one at all acquainted

acquainted with the Jews must acknowledge that their national character is generous and warm hearted,) they have numerous literary societies, a few of which I will endeavour to describe.

The first and most important is the *Babylonian Talmud Society*; designated חברה ש"ס 'Chevrah Shas,' whose object is to study, and to promote the study of the Talmud. All the members constituting this society are first-rate Talmudists, and most respectable. The following are a few of its rules.

No one can be admitted into this society unless he is able to read the Talmud with facility, and understand it thoroughly; he must also be recommended by members; his character must be blameless; and he is required to pay a certain sum into the treasury. During the first three years he is considered a junior, or as he is called by them שמש Shamesh, i.e. *Steward*: he has no vote; but is required to carry out notices for convocations, to collect subscriptions, &c. All, whether rich or poor, must observe these rules. At the expiration of three years he is to pay another sum of money, and to make a feast for the members of the association, and he then becomes a lawful member. If the candidate for admission happens to be the son of a senior member, he is entitled to certain privileges. Every member must be an annual subscriber; with which subscription schools are established, books bought, and poor Talmudic students clothed, &c.

Every member must read a folio every morning; after public morning prayers all the members are required to meet in the *Beth Hamedrash*, or college, (which is generally near the synagogue,) and to read it together; but as some are occasionally prevented from attending public service, they must read it by themselves at home; but as many of them as attend the synagogue, immediately after service retire to their college in their *Talith* and *T'phillin*, and read it, and discuss it together. They attempt to reconcile many glaring contradictions and unfounded assertions; a great deal of ingenuity and acuteness is displayed, and thence arise numberless disputes. Of these disputes they are passionately fond; and it is an object of their highest ambition to defend their own tenets, and attack those of their opponents. All those Talmudists are capable of reasoning powerfully upon any subject with which they are acquainted. The Chief Rabbi always presides, and is umpire, to avoid endless controversy; for there are sometimes a hundred together, and sometimes a great many speak at once. At the conclusion of a treatise, (for Talmud consists of thirty-six treatises,) every member must be present; then is a time of rejoicing; they provide wine and biscuits and partake of them immediately after the conclusion. The patron delivers a lecture, showing the connection between the treatise just finished and the following one. If it happens to be on a fast-day, the fast is made null and void, and they are very ingenious in arranging the readings in such a way as to make them end on a fast-day. Once in seven years the whole of the Talmud is concluded; when a grand feast takes place, which is a day of great rejoicing. Rabbies are invited from different places to attend; for its conclusion varies in their respective towns; a great many honours are conferred on such as have distinguished themselves in

in discovering something new, or in appearing to reconcile some really irreconcilable statements.

The second literary association is called *חברה משנה* *Chevrach Mishnah*, or *Mishnah Society*; into which inferior persons are admitted; because it is considered much easier than the Talmud. It is conducted on the same plan, only with less pomp. The members of this society, who happen to be members of the Talmud society, read the appointed chapter in *Mishnah* before morning service. In fact, every member of the Talmud society is a member of the *Mishnah* society. As *Mishnah* is a great deal less than Talmud, it is concluded once in three years: so that in every Beth Hamedrash in Poland are to be seen two large tables at each end of the room, crowded with Jews, who study those books in their Talith and T'phillin, and display much earnestness. Some poor Jews, who are rather ignorant, sit by them and listen to the explanation; so that some instruction is afforded to the poor and ignorant. When a rich Jew dies he sometimes leaves a legacy for poor but learned men; that every morning during a whole year they may read in his behalf a chapter in the *Mishnah*, which, he thinks, will alleviate his tortures in purgatory; for Talmudic Jews firmly believe in a purgatory; according to their opinion even the most righteous Jew must lie eleven months in purgatory.

The third literary association is called *חברה עין יעקב* *Chevrach Ain Yakob*, or *Ain Jacob society*, also designed for promoting the daily reading of that book which is called *אגדות* *Agadoth*. It consists of all the allegories, absurdities, fables, indecencies, and wonders found in Talmudic lore. Mr. Finn, in his *Sephardim*, rightly styles it 'one of the most trashy and cumbrous impositions that ever depraved a nation's intellect or undermined their moral principles, not superior if equal to the Koran, and only one step above the legends of Hindoo Brahmins: containing, indeed, a few spangles of gold, the relics of a pure tradition, but the greater part being of base metal and encrusted with a poisonous oxide.' If the Rabbi who took the trouble to extract all the above-mentioned articles had published an edition of Talmud without them he would indeed have wrought a good work; for the Talmud, purified from these abominations, would certainly present a noble specimen of Hebrew literature.

Maimonides was very anxious to have them all abolished from the Talmud. Had he but braved the displeasure of our Rabbies more firmly, he would have certainly written against these absurdities, but he has not left us in the dark after all concerning his opinion of these *Agadoth*. In his *Moreh N'bochim*, or 'Guide to the Perplexed,' we find the following passage as an excuse for not explaining them: 'And if one of the many foolish Rabbies reads these histories and proverbs, he will find an explanation not necessary; for to a fool everything is right, and he finds no difficulty anywhere. And if a really wise man reads them there will be but two ways in which he will consider them. If he take them in their literal sense, and think them bad, he will say, This is foolishness, and in so doing, he says nothing at all against the foundation of the faith.' He also wrote to Rabbi Joseph, 'Beware of
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wasting time in the exposition and laborious poring over the G'mara; for I have read much therein, and drawn from it but little profit.' No wonder, therefore, that the writings of that truly learned man were often condemned to the flames: but it is rather surprising that he is now held up as an advocate for G'mara (see 'Voice of Jacob'), though Talmud expressly pronounces that 'those who reject the Agadoth, as did Zadok and Baithos, are deniers of the law, and as such are condemned on account of the greatness of their wickedness and sin for ever, even for ever and ever.'

It is most distressing to see crowds of aged Jews sitting in the *Beth Hamedrash*, and reading the Agadoth, thinking that thereby they do God service. The members of this society are generally to be found reading it about half-past two o'clock, P.M. It is the reading book of aged Jews who are no longer able to join with the young men, whose mental capacities are in their vigour, in discussing difficult subjects contained in Talmud; for Aiu Jacob is considered light reading. It is a book which might be classed with *Tom Thumb*, or *Jack the Giant Killer*. A great number of tradesmen get poor young students to read it with them. The rules of this society are somewhat similar to those of the two former.

The fourth association is termed *חברה מקרא* *Chevrah Mikra*, or *Scripture Society*; its object is to read the Scriptures together daily at the *Beth Hamedrash*. The appointed hour is before public evening prayers; it is conducted by a very learned man, who reads aloud, and all the members listen with profound attention; there is no disputing here, but everything is in perfect order. Questions are asked, but in a spirit of humility. The commentaries employed for that purpose are those of Rashi, or Jarchi, Kimchi, Aben Ezra, Abarbanal, M'zudoth David, &c. The members of this society have a profound knowledge of the Scriptures. Since the 'London Society for promoting Christianity amongst the Jews' began to accommodate the Jews abroad with cheap copies of the Old Testament free from all the above commentaries, there is generally to be found in every large town inhabited by Jews in Poland and Russia, a society of young men called *חברה תנ"ך* *Chevrah Tanach*, whose object is to read the Bible without any comment; for which purpose these young men have a room for themselves; for the *Beth Hamedrash* would not be allowed for that purpose. All these young men are sceptical about the Rabbinical oracles, and it is most probable that the present movements amongst the Jews, and the cry for reformation and 'no Rabbinism,' owe their existence, under God, to the London society, in giving free course to the oracles of God amongst the Jews, to whom they were first committed.

The fifth association is called *חברה תורה* *Chevrah Torah*, or the *Law Society*, whose object is to study the Pentateuch, with all the Cabalistic commentaries, viz., Zohar, Medrash, Yalkut, Alshich, &c. Alshich is a great favourite with them. This society consists of all kinds of Tradesmen who are busy the whole week and can scarcely find time to attend the synagogue. They assemble themselves on the afternoon of Saturday in the *Beth Hamedrash*, (as it is read only there for

for their benefit,) when their Principal reads the Pentateuch aloud and explains it, so that the most ignorant can understand. It is indeed a wonderful scene to behold a Jewish *Beth Hamedrash* in Poland on a Saturday afternoon; to see ten or twelve large tables surrounded with pious Jews who have a zeal for God. Were even their greatest enemy to witness such a scene, he would be struck with their piety. It would inspire him with a spirit of love and affection, and his prejudice would be turned into sincere respect for the Jewish nation: but the fact is, their real state is far from being known and considered by the majority of British Christians.

The *Torah Society* have a fast day on the seventh day of the month Adar, (which is generally about the end of February or the beginning of March), as it is supposed that Moses died on that day. This year (1843) having two Adars, the 7th of the first Adar happens on the 7th of February, and the 7th of the second Adar on the 9th of March. It often occurs that a person is a member of all the societies.

Thus have I given a brief view of a few of their literary associations, all of which tend to keep learning alive, and always secure a great number of learned men among them.

ON THE DOCTRINE OF THE LOGOS.

By the Rev. J. F. DENHAM, M.A., F.R.S.

It is proposed to lay before the reader a summary of the important *points*, historical and polemical, involved in this subject. It may serve to initiate some readers into an intricate and voluminous enquiry, and to revive in others already acquainted with it the recollections of their own better knowledge. The design embraces a statement of the sources of information, notices of their respective nature and value, and a critical examination of the materials which they afford.

The sources of information and the order in which it seems advisable to consult them are as follows: 1. The New Testament; 2. The Hebrew Scriptures; 3. The apocryphal books; 4. The writings of ancient heathens, Plato, &c.; 5. The Targums and other Jewish expositors; 6. The works of Philo Judæus; 7. Early Christian writers; 8. The Koran of Mahomet; 9. The mythology of existing heathen nations.

The term *logos* will be used in its untranslated state, both because it is a concrete appellative, which like the words *Jesus* and *Christ* does not admit of an adequate translation by any single word, such as *reason*, *idea*, 'word,' *speech*, the promised one,

one, wisdom, legate, minister, interpreter, &c. ; and because, even if it were possible, any such verbal rendering of it at the commencement of an enquiry into its meaning, or in the course of it, would be a *petitio principii*. It may be further observed that the several particulars predicated of it by any particular writer, constitute together that writer's doctrine of the logos. Hence, we are accustomed to speak of the logos of Plato, or of St. John. From the subsequent details it will be seen how far the doctrine derived from the several sources specified agrees or differs.

1. We begin with the *New Testament*.^a The Introduction to St. John's Gospel, the genuineness of which has never been doubted, first claims attention as containing the fullest and most systematic developement of the doctrine. The simple and straightforward construction of it adopted by the received translation, is best defended by grammatical reasons, and is substantially countenanced by all the ancient versions, &c.

'In the beginning was the logos and the logos was with God and the logos was God. This (logos) was in the beginning with God. All things were made through it, and separately from it was not even one thing made that has been made. In it was life and the life was the light of men.

'The (logos) was the true light, which lighteth every man, coming into the world. It was in the world and the world was made through it, and the world knew it not. It came unto its own things, and its own people received it not. But as many as received it to them gave it right to become children of God,—believing on its name. And the logos became flesh and dwelt among us, and we observed its glory, the glory as of the only begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth. John bare witness concerning him and proclaimed saying, This (person) was he of whom I said "He who is coming after me is preferred before me, for he was prior to me." For out of his fullness all we have received and grace upon grace. The law indeed was given through Moses—grace and truth were brought through Jesus Christ. No man hath seen God at any time: the only begotten son who is in the bosom of the Father, he hath revealed Him. John said 'I am not worthy to loose the thong of his sandal. Behold, the lamb of God who is bearing the sin of the world. This is the son of God' (chap. i. 1-4, 9-12, 14-18, 27, 29, 34).

In the introduction to his first epistle, which seems to have derived its style from the preceding portion of his gospel, the apostle calls him 'the logos of life,' or living logos, 'the everlasting life which was with the Father and had become manifest

^a Tischendorf's edition, *Lipsiæ*, 1841.

to the apostles' (chap. i. 1, 2). The Apocalypse opens with a recognition of the apostle's office as having borne witness to 'the logos of God;' and in ch. xix. 11-14, a personage is introduced in a vision 'whose name is called the logos of God, faithful and true, and in righteousness doth he judge and make war: his eyes as a flame of fire, and upon his head many diadems, having a name written which no one knew but he himself, and arrayed in a vesture dipped in blood.'

St. John's doctrine of the logos according to the introduction to his gospel appears to be that of a *personal* being, and as such *distinguishable from God*; and this is the most *material point in the whole question*. The logos was 'with God,' not ἐν τῷ θεῷ in God, as reason or understanding is in the mind; but πρὸς τὸν θεόν, with God as one person is with another: and therefore, though he was in some sense God, yet he was not altogether the same God 'with' whom he was. The contrary supposition of the perfect identity of God and the logos reduces the opening of St. John's gospel to an enumeration of the feeble truisms, that God was in the beginning, and was God. These conclusions are justified by the anthropomorphism of this and every other part of Scripture.

St. John further teaches that the logos existed *at the beginning*, that is, at least *coevally* with the creation of 'the world' and of 'all things which were made through him' (ver. 10, 3), and that he was then 'with God' (ver. 2); that the term God was then applicable to him (ver. 1), and that this logos was incarnate in Jesus Christ (ver. 14). Whereas too the apostle further says, 'no man hath seen God at any time' (ver. 18), it may be inferred that he understood some other being to have been seen in the theophanies recorded in the Old Testament, as for instance Exod. xxiv. 9-12, 'Moses and Aaron, Nadab and Abihu and seventy elders of Israel went up on Mount Sinai, and saw the God of Israel.' The personality of the logos will appear still further evident if we attempt to understand by the term any *mere attribute* of God, such as reason, wisdom, idea; for then St. John's studious method and elation of style would seem to have been adopted for no other purpose than to declare the self-evident truths that God in the beginning, and when He made the world and all things, was a rational and wise being, and possessed of ideas. It should also be borne in mind that St. John's entire doctrine of the logos comprehends all the particulars concerning the pre-existent state, dignity, and agency of Jesus Christ asserted in other parts of his gospel.

This first step, however, which we have made into the subject suggests the necessity of adverting with a view to ulterior purposes, to the metaphysical and ontological doctrines of antiquity, which consist of ideas concerning existence and agency widely different

different from any ever dreamt of by the mind imbued only with the theories of Locke and Newton. To begin with their metaphysics. Our minds have learned to conceive of the Divine as of the human mind, as a pure uncompounded essence endowed with certain qualities called attributes, and capable of exerting certain modifications of power called faculties; which qualities and faculties we regard as collectively constituting the mind itself, and as having no substantial existence except in the language of mental philosophy, nor as indeed capable of assuming such a state: in short, we are accustomed to think that that which is seated in the mind, cannot have an existence separately from the mind itself. Nothing, therefore, can be more remote from our ordinary conceptions than the idea of the substantial existence of the Divine reason, that is separately from the Divine mind itself, yet it is well known that the theology of the ancient heathens constantly involves the possibility of such a separation. Nor does the dissimilarity end here, for it extends even to the idea of the procreation of the Divine attributes by an act of the Divine will. Thus they who maintain the most probable opinion that Plato means no more by his doctrine of the logos than the reason of God, or the archetype of the Divine ideas, must admit that he styles the logos 'ὁ ἐκ γοῦ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ καὶ ὁμοιότατος ἑαυτῷ' ^b which is begotten of the good [God] and most like to him.' The nearest though still far distant approximation we have made to this mode of thought and language is in the phrase 'darling attribute' which has from some or other source become current among us, but the idea of a begotten attribute of the Divine nature is remote as possible from our usual speech and conceptions. Resemblances, however, to Plato's way of speaking occur even in the Scriptures. Thus in the well-known description of the Divine Wisdom (Prov. viii. 12-36), it is described (ver. 24) as saying 'I was brought forth,' and in the old version it was translated 'begotten' (as also in the Septuagint). The Vulgate reads 'I was conceived;' and Archbishop Parker's version 'I was born.' Other ancient versions render the word 'I was nourished,' but all these terms involve the idea of a Divine attribute *junior* to the Divine mind itself. This idea is also embodied in Sirach's description of Wisdom (chap. i. 4, 9). It is usual with commentators to resolve these ideas into *prosopopœia*, but it is nevertheless evident that they are founded in the metaphysical conceptions of the writers.

It is still more important that the student in this inquiry should bring to it a previous knowledge of the *ontological* doctrines of the ancients, particularly of their systems of *emanations*, otherwise

^b *De Repub.* lib. 6.

called

called *æons*. These doctrines may be thus stated. All natures intelligible, intellectual, and material, originally constituting those substantial powers which are contained in the divine essence, and which together complete the infinite *πλήρωμα* or 'fulness' of the divine nature, were derived from this secret and inexhaustible abyss by a succession of emanations, and became real *personal* beings of various orders, some of them eternal, including at the remote extremity of the emanations, evil demons and even matter itself. This, which was the œcumenical philosophy of the heathen world from an unknown antiquity, underwent various modifications at different places and times; it amalgamated itself with Christianity from its very dawn, and was the chief source of the many and lasting corruptions it underwent; and traces of it abound in every extant system of paganism. The whole system of Gnosticism, whose origin is far earlier than the birth of Christ, consists in doctrines concerning æons, asserted with as much confidence and familiarity as if they had been objects of sight. The system of Valentinus, a Gnostic heretic in the second century, is recorded by Irenæus (lib. i. c. 3), and Epiphanius (*Hær.* xxxi. 2), to have consisted of thirty æons, male and female, the first pair having emanated from the divine *pleroma*, and the rest from those two by successive procreation. It is chiefly relevant to our present purpose to observe that Basilides, another Gnostic heretic, A.D. 117, incorporated into his system of 365 æons, three in particular named *σοφία*, or wisdom, *δύναμις*, or power, and *ἐννοια*, or primary conception, which had doubtless occupied places in far more ancient systems. From a multitude of references in the Scriptures to the theory of the æons, unobserved by the mere English reader, but instantly recognised by the initiated mind, and which are still more apparent in the original language of the text, we select the following. The people of Samaria, all of them from the least to the greatest, said of Simon, who had given out that he was some *great one*, 'This man is the *power* of God, which is called *great*' (Acts viii. 10). The efforts made by commentators to reduce this language to the level of mere English conceptions are truly remarkable. Thus Doddridge paraphrases the acclamations of the Samaritans in the following style. 'This man is surely the great power of God, and (if we may so speak!) omnipotence incarnate.'^c Gilbert Wakefield gravely *translates*, 'This is that great and powerful *messenger* of God,'^d and in the notes apologizes for so doing, by saying 'I have rather given the purport of this last clause than the literal translation of it, because this idiomatic substitution of the abstract for the concrete as

^c *Fam. Expos.* in loc.

^d *New Test.* in loc.

grammarians express themselves, neither furnishes a clear sense, nor is suitable to the genius of our language.' Scarcely less forced is the conjecture of Heinrichs, that Simon when about to display his feats of pretended magic was accustomed to exclaim 'Come *see* the great power of God!' and that the populace had mistakenly applied the language to himself. Justin Martyr, however, A.D. 150, rightly understood that Simon claimed to be *an incarnate æon*, and records that this impostor further asserted his wife Helena to be the *ἐννοια* incarnate (*Apol.* xv. 34, 84). Irenæus also relates that Simon asserted 'eum esse sublimissimam *virtutem*, hoc est qui super omnia Pater.' He is also represented in the Recognitions of Simon (iii. 47) as saying 'ego sum prima *virtus* qui semper et sine initio sum.'* St. Paul also glances at the doctrine of the æons when, in contradistinction to them, he asserts Christ to be really 'the power of God and the wisdom of God' (1 Cor. i. 24). The philosophical systems of antiquity are thus comprehensively described by Damascius, a Syrian by birth, and the last Platonic instructor in Alexandria, A.D. 540. 'Nearly all philosophers prior to Jamblichus asserted that there was one *superessential* God, but that the other deities had an *essential* existence and were deified by illuminations from the one.' These metaphysical notions of the nations of antiquity are, as might be expected, largely concerned in the literature of our subject and of the immense department of enquiry of which it is only one portion.

To return to the examination of the New Testament. It has been commonly supposed that the doctrine of a personal logos is peculiar to St. John. Thus, Dr. Burton, having observed that 'we may infer from the opening of St. John's Gospel that even the orthodox Christians had taken to use the term logos as an epithet of Jesus Christ,' adds, 'and since the latest writings of St. Paul contain no trace of the term logos being thus applied to Christ, we must allow some years to have elapsed before the opening of St. John's Gospel would have been intelligible to his readers.'† If, however, it can be shown that the Chaldaic term *Memra*, or *word*, was well known to the Jews in St. John's time as an epithet of the Messiah, its Greek representative logos in the Apostle's writings would have been readily understood, and, still more so, if it could be proved that the Greek word itself, as used for the same purpose, had long before been familiar to their minds. Nor should we stand alone in venturing to think that the word logos in this peculiar sense occurs not only in the writ-

* *Vide Hist. Apost. de S. Apost. Pet.*, lib. i. in Fabricii *Codex Apoc. N. T.*, P. ii. p. 146.

† *Lectures on Ecclesiast. History*, Oxford, 1839, pp. 375, 376.

ings of St. Paul, but in other parts of the New Testament. Assuming then the Pauline origin of the Epistle to the Hebrews, and Dr. Burton decides in favour of this hypothesis,^s we offer the following passage as claiming some attention, iv. 12, 13, occurring after a solemn admonition against apostacy. 'For the logos of God is living and active, and keener than any two edged sword, and penetrating through unto a division of soul and spirit, of joints and marrow, and is a discerner of the thoughts and purposes of the heart; and there is not a creature hidden in its sight, but all things are naked and exposed to the eyes of Him to whom we must give an account.' Modern commentators explain this whole passage to mean either the Gospel, or the divine comminations contained in the Old Testament. So Rosenmüller and Stuart. They all, however, admit that this exposition involves a transition to God somewhere, but differ as to the point at which they assign it. Stuart places it after καὶ κριτικὸς, and admits that otherwise we must carry ὁ λόγος τοῦ Θεοῦ as the subject, through the whole passage.^h On the contrary, Le Clerc observes, 'what is here said by interpreters about the word of God is harsh, to which, what is here affirmed concerning ὁ λόγος τοῦ Θεοῦ cannot be applied without violence.' He asks, 'Can any man think this to be a tolerable way of speaking—the gospel is living,' &c.? 'Yet,' he adds, 'I can hardly persuade myself that the discourse is about the divine logos which is so much spoken of by Philo, but I am apt to think that this phrase is taken from the custom of the Jews in that age, who for God, and any of the divine attributes, used to say the word *memra dejejah*, or word of God, of which custom there are frequent instances in the Chaldee Paraphrase. This conjecture is confirmed by verse 13, where all things are said to be naked and opened unto His eyes, which cannot be said of the gospel, but only of God.'ⁱ A very similar passage from the writings of Philo will be subsequently adduced, and Le Clerc's view of Philo's doctrine, and of the use of the word *memra*, will come under consideration. It is certain that this passage was understood of Christ by several writers both before and after the Council of Nice, and among them by Origen (in *Johan.*). Dr. Waterland says, 'I know not whether any fuller or more significant expressions can be produced out of the Holy Scripture in proof of the omniscience of God the Father.'^k Dr. Jones takes this and several similar passages in the New Testament as 'personifications of the Christian doctrine,' grounded however on the doctrine of the logos, which he considers as 'not relating to the

^s *Lectures on Ecclesiast. History*, p. 279.

^h *Comment. on Hebrews*, notes.

ⁱ *Supplem. to Dr. Hammond*, *in loc.*

^k *Sermon VII. at Moyer's Lectures.*

personal nature of Christ but to his exalted capacity as the messenger of heaven.'^m It may admit of a question whether the personal attributes applied to the logos in this passage can be explained of the mere comminations of God or of the gospel without invalidating the inference of the personality of the Holy Spirit from the ascription to him of personal attributes. Certainly Dr. Macknight's paraphrase and notes upon the passage exhibit precisely the mode of criticism which is loudly exclaimed against by the orthodox when adopted by Unitarians in regard to those personal actions. It may be observed that the best ancient versions give a strong personal sense to the concluding words of the passage in question. Thus the Vulgate '*ad quem nobis sermo*' (Douay, 'to whom our speech is'); Syriac, 'to whom all things render an account'; Ethiopic, 'and this which we say to you (is unfolded) before his eyes'; Arabic, 'to whom is our future exculpation.'

There is no doubt a temptation besetting the mind occupied in this enquiry to be misled by mere resemblances and ambiguous expressions, so as to mistake instances in which the word *logos*, and its corresponding words in other languages, signifies nothing more than a verbal communication, and especially when it is associated with figurative language. But as an instance least liable to these dangers, we point out the introduction to St. Luke's Gospel. 'Many have taken in hand to set forth in order a declaration of those things which are most surely believed among us, even as they delivered them unto us which from the beginning were eye-witnesses and ministers of the word' (*logos*). Here, the term standing alone, must mean either the personal *logos* or the Christian doctrine. The former sense best agrees with the connected language, 'eye-witnesses and ministers,' and it deserves notice that though the word is used in the latter sense in the Gospels, it is never so used when first introduced, but in all cases occurs as the syncrasis of some antecedent expression, such as 'the word of the kingdom of God,' 'mysteries of the kingdom.' Comp. Matt. xiii. 19, 22, 23; Mark iv. 11, 14, 15, 16, 18, 20; Luke viii. 11, 12, &c. The Ethiopic version understands the *logos* in a personal sense in this passage. So do the commentators Gomar, Cameron, Capellus, and Wolf.

2. *The Old Testament*.—It is generally considered that the phrase, 'The word of the Lord came, saying,' which occurs so frequently from Genesis to Zechariah, means no more than the prophetic impulse on the mind, and the consequent ideal or verbal communication. Some passages, however, have been deemed worthy of more attention. Thus, in Gen. xv. 1, 4, 5, 7-9, &c.,

^m *Ecclesiastical Researches*. London, 1812, pp. 128-132.

' the

'the word of the Lord' is certainly the only true grammatical subject of which a variety of personal actions are predicated, and which, when occurring in other cases, are often pressed in support of very important conclusions. It must at least be granted that the word of the Lord in this chapter means the Lord himself. The same observations apply to 1 Kings xix. 9, &c., 'Behold the word of the Lord came to Elijah, and He said unto him, What dost thou here, Elijah—and He said, Go forth and stand upon the mount before the Lord, and behold the Lord passed by.' It is true that the personal pronoun is not marked in the Hebrew text, but Bishop Middleton argues for the personality of the Holy Spirit from precisely similar passages, viz., Acts i. 16; 'the Holy Ghost spake,' x. 19; xx. 28; xxviii. 25.^a In the same chapter the personal action of speaking is attributed severally to 'the angel,' verse 5, 'the word of the Lord,' verse 9, and to 'the Lord' himself, verse 15. The mere reply that the Hebrew style, especially in the earlier books, is very condensed, elliptical, and includes tacit transitions to the divine Being, renders all doctrinal inferences from that style extremely uncertain. On 1 Sam. iii. 21, 'and the Lord appeared again in Shiloh, for the Lord revealed himself to Samuel in Shiloh by the word of the Lord'—Calmet asks, 'Why this circumlocution, why not say simply he revealed himself; why add "by the word of the Lord," if the phrases mean one and the same thing?'^o Other instances of the same class occur, 1 Kings xiii. 9, 17, &c.,; Ps. cxix. 89 (Sept. λόγος).

3. *The Apocryphal Books.*—Here we find a continuation of the same marked references to the instrumentality of 'the logos.' Thus, in the book Ecclesiasticus, written by some uncertain author, not later than 180 B.C., chap. i. 1, it is asserted that 'all wisdom is of the Lord, and is with him for ever;' then verse 4, that 'wisdom was created before all things;' and then^p verse 5, that 'the logos of God is the fountain or well of wisdom.' The natural distinction between the logos and wisdom, and between the internal and external logos, seems clearly made in this description. In the Wisdom of Solomon (probably the work of some Alexandrine Jew, between one and two centuries B.C.), chap. ix. 1, God is said to have 'made all things by his logos.' In chap. xvi. 12, we read, 'It was neither herb nor plaster that healed them, but thy logos, O Lord, which healeth all things.' In chap. xviii. 14-17, the following description occurs of the destruction of the first born, 'While all things were in quiet silence, and night was in the midst of her swift course, thine Almighty logos leaped down from heaven out of royal thrones, as a fierce man of war, into the midst of a

^a On the Greek Article.^o *Dissert.* 9.^p Ed. Compl.

land of destruction, and *brought* thine unfeigned commandment as a sharp sword, and standing up filled all things with death, and it touched the heavens, but it stood on the earth.' This passage certainly partakes of the highly rhetorical style of the entire description, but in addition to the decided personal attributes it ascribes to the logos, the distinction is important that the logos is represented as *bearing the divine commandment*. Dr. Pye Smith calls it 'laboured bombast,' and observes, 'surely none will attribute to the Messiah to have been the agent of destruction in the land of Egypt.'^a It may, however, be observed that the Chaldee Paraphrast, on the primary passage (Ex. xii. 29) reads, 'and the *word* of the Lord slew all the first born;' and that Philo attributes the infliction of punishment to the logos;^r and that St. John introduces the logos into a scene of destruction (Rev. xix. 13-15). Grotius, in the above passage, understands 'the angel of the Lord' to be meant by the logos. Bishop Bull thinks a divine person to be clearly represented.* To the same æra and class of writings belong notices of the few instances in the Septuagint in which the use of the term logos seems significant. Ps. xxxiii. (xxxii.) 6, 'By the logos of the Lord were the heavens made,' (comp. in Ps. cxix. 89). In Ez. i. 24, the Alexand. and Complut. render the words 'the voice of the Almighty,' by the voice of the logos, which rendering is applied by Jerome to Christ as the logos. In Ps. xv. 19, 'until the time came that his cause was known the oracle (λόγιον) of the Lord tried Joseph.' In other passages, the Septuagint indifferently uses ῥῆμα and λόγος. To this place belongs a reference to the circumstance that the Jew Ezechiel, who turned part of the book of Exodus into Greek iambics, when speaking of the Lord who spake to Moses from the bush, calls him θεῖος λόγος.

4. *The Mythology and Writings of Ancient Heathens*, Plato, &c.—The extinct systems of paganism, however differing in other particulars, agreed in one point of general resemblance, namely, that of admitting the doctrine of some or other emanations from the supreme God, anterior to the existence of man, and regarded as substantial and personal beings. Sir G. Wilkinson gives the following accurate statement of the general subject, and as it applies to Egyptian mythology. 'In the early ages of mankind the existence of a sole and omnipotent Deity, who created all things, seems to have been the universal belief—from whom all the other deities were produced. It appears that the Divinity himself was not represented in the Egyptian sculptures, and that the figures of gods were deified attributes, indicative of the in-

^a *Script. Testimony*, vol. i. p. 571, 2nd edition.

^r *De Somn.*

* *Defens. Nic.*, lib. i.

tellect, power, goodness, might, and other qualities of the eternal Being. . . . Some, which belonged to the Divinity himself, were considered as the great gods of the Egyptian Pantheon; the next class of deities were emanations from the same source; and the minor divinities of various grades were the representatives of inferior powers, of physical objects, connected with the Creator, and of different abstract ideas, whose relative rank depended on the near or distant connection which they were deemed to possess with a divine origin. Some were deifications of physical objects. The *same* may be observed in the religion of the Greeks and Romans.* In all these ancient systems, however, some emanation has been pointed out corresponding to the Christian doctrine of the logos. Hagenbach adverts to the analogy in the Kneph of the Egyptian mythology.† Justin Martyr advances a similar opinion with regard to the Greek and Roman.‡

This analogy appears in its more intellectual form in the writings of the philosophers, and is exhibited in the perfection of metaphysical subtlety in those of Plato (born 430 B.C.). The majority of those who have endeavoured, though in vain, to comprehend his doctrine of the logos, concur in this point, however, that it cannot be demonstrated that he means by it not any substantial existence, but only the reason of God, the διάνοια or ἐπιστήμη of the divine understanding, the seat of the intelligible world, or of ideas, and sometimes the intellectual pattern or archetype καθ' ὃν, αἰεὶ ὄντα, τὰ γεγόμενα ἐγένοντο, according to which, ever-existing, created things were made. Supposing, however, such to have been his doctrine, we have already seen that it was not inconsistent with his ontological ideas to represent the logos as begotten of God. Hagenbach observes that Plato distinguishes the simple ὄν from the λόγος τοῦ ὄντος, which is superior to the δυνάμεις, λόγοι, and ἄγγελοι,§ but in *what* the distinction consisted in Plato's own perceptions, supposing him to have had any respecting it, must evidently be a most difficult point to determine. Few are the minds which will not despair to comprehend a system built upon such language and principles as the following:—all divine powers are substances; being and energy are the same thing;—yet these and many similar profundities must be understood before the relation in which Plato imagined God to stand to the creating νοῦς and eternal λόγος can be defined. At the same time his use of the peculiar term logos presents a striking analogy to the style of St. John, and together with the phrase '*Son of God*,' which he applies to the universe, considered as animated by a *soul* which

* *Anc. Egyptians*, vol. iv. pp. 176-181.

† *History of Doctrines*. Transl. by Buch., vol. i. p. 107.

‡ *Apol.* 2.

§ *Hist. of Doctrines*, p. 108.

proceeds from God, suggests the question whether his language and ideas on these subjects might not, like 'the story' of his master Socrates in his last hours respecting hades, have consisted of confused fragments of ancient general tradition, or have been originally derived from Jewish sources. No doubt is there but that the identity of these and many other terms in Plato's writings and the Christian Scriptures, facilitated the ready coalition between the two systems, which took place very soon after the introduction of the Gospel, and to which the greatest and most permanent corruptions it suffered are to be attributed.

To the present point in our epitome belongs a notice of the fact recorded by Eusebius, that Amelius, a Platonic philosopher and teacher, who flourished towards the end of the third century, recognised his own doctrine in that of St. John concerning the logos.* The substance of the philosopher's observations is, that 'this was the logos of Heraclitus—καθ' ὃν, αἰεὶ ὄντα, according to which ever-existing, all things were made, being with God and holding the rank and dignity of the principle, being life, and having existence, being God, and life in which everything lives that was made, descending into *bodies*, putting on flesh and appearing as man, and afterwards resolved again into its original divinity and becoming God as before.' But this and similar facts must be regarded in connection with the well-known circumstance that Plato's doctrine had become materially changed in the hands of his later followers. The introduction of this particular alteration must be traced to Ammonius Sacca, who flourished about the beginning of the third century, was born of Christian parents, and educated a Christian, and who endeavoured to incorporate Christianity with gentile philosophy, along with the addition of certain mysterious refinements, and transmitted this mixed and perverted system to Plotinus, and Plotinus to Amelius.† 'Hence,' as Dr. Burton remarks, 'Amelius could see in the gospel of St. John the agreement with his own notion of Plato's doctrine of the logos, but this notion was no more that of Plato himself than the creed of Amelius was that of St. John.' The Christian writers had prepared the way for this change in the later Platonism by pretending, as Justin Martyr does, to find in Plato an agreement with the Jewish Scriptures; and Ammonius further perverted the terms of one system to meet those of another, and was the first Platonist who spoke of a second cause in anything like the Christian sense of the term. Such was the process by which Plato was gradually clothed in a Christian dress. Candour and accuracy therefore oblige us to distrust any view of Plato's doc-

* *Præp. Evan.*, lib. xi. cap. 19.

† *Vide* Brucker's *Hist. Phil.*, vol. ii. p. 211.
trine

trine of the logos except such as may be derived from his own writings.

V. *The ancient Jewish expositors.*—The most important of these are the Targums or Chaldee paraphrases upon some portions of the Old Testament, and among these the most valuable are, first, the Targum of Onkelos on the Pentateuch, who, according to the Babylonian Talmud, was a disciple of Hillel who died 60 B.C. (grandfather of Gamaliel, St. Paul's tutor), though Eichhorn and others give to this Targum a much later origin. Secondly, the Targum of Jonathan Ben Uzziel on the prophets and historical books, the most distinguished disciple of Hillel. Thirdly, the Targum called Pseudo-Jonathan, on the Pentateuch, because thought to be falsely ascribed to Jonathan, abounding with fables, allegories, etc., and possibly written after the sixth century. Fourthly, the Jerusalem Targum upon select portions of the Pentateuch, generally agreeing with Pseudo-Jonathan, if these be not in fact both recensions of the same work, which existed much earlier under the name of the Jerusalem Targum, or Targum of Palestine. Now in the most ancient and best, as well as the later and inferior of these Targums, the phrases *מִמְרָא memra*, 'word,' and *מִמְרָא דִּי memra Dejejah* (an abbreviation of Jehovah), 'word of the Lord,' occur in what Bishop Walton calls 'an infinite number of places, in which actions and properties are ascribed to it as a distinct person, and which, in his judgment, wonderfully confirm the declarations of St. John concerning the logos, and prove that in so designating the Messiah, or Son of God, the Evangelist employed a name already in particular use among the Jews as received from their ancestors, though not perfectly understood by all.'

We shall first give specimens of the kind, then state the explanations which have been offered of them as not involving the idea of a personal logos; and afterwards adduce others which appear to resist all such explanations. Thus both Onkelos and Pseudo-Jonathan paraphrase these words (Gen. iii. 8); 'They heard the voice of the Lord,' by saying, 'they heard the voice of the (*memra*) word of the Lord walking in the garden;' and the Jerusalem continues, 'the word of the Lord God called Adam, and said to him, Behold, the world which I have created is laid open before me.' On Gen. xxviii. 20, 21, 'If God will be with me, then shall the Lord be my God;' Onkelos paraphrases, 'if the word of the Lord—then the word of the Lord shall be my God.' On Gen. xix. 24, 'And the Lord rained fire upon Sodom and Gomorrah,' Pseudo-Jonathan and Jerusalem, 'the word of the Lord rained.'

² *Proleg.*, B. Pol. p. 86.

On Gen. vii. 16 Onkelos has 'and God by his *word* protected Noah;' Jonathan, 'and the *word* of the Lord spared him.' On Exod. xvii. 16, Jonathan reads, 'Because the *word* of the Lord hath sworn by the throne of his glory, that He by his *word* will fight against Amalek.' Onkelos, on Deut. i. 26, 'Ye rebelled against the *word* of the Lord which was your leader.' Pseudo-Jonathan, on Deut. xxvi. 17, 18, 'that ye may obey my *word*: and the *word* of the Lord hath chosen you:' Jerusalem, 'and ye have constituted the *word* of the Lord a king over you this day, that he may be a God to you; and the *word* of the Lord hath constituted himself a king over you *in his name*, that ye may be to him a chosen flock.' Jonathan, on Jer. xvii. 7, 'Blessed is the man who trusteth in the *word* of the Lord, and the *word* of the Lord is his confidence.' On Lev. xxvi. 12, Onkelos has, 'My *word* shall not cast you away:' Jerusalem, 'My *word* shall be your redeemer.'

The explanation which some writers have given of these and similar instances, is that the phrases 'word,' and 'word of the Lord,' are simply a periphrasis for God himself, derived from the Chaldaic idiom, which uses the word *memra*, first, as the medium of communicating the mind of any one person to another, and, ultimately, as a personal pronoun, and that it was also used as a circumlocution to avoid the introduction of the ineffable name Jehovah.^a The result of this grammatical hypothesis is, that the phrases 'word,' and 'word of the Lord' in the Targums is equivalent to the words *God himself*. Nor can it be denied but that this is the only possible sense in some instances. Thus Onkelos, Jonathan, and the Jerusalem, read these words, Gen. vi. 6, 'It repented the Lord'—'It repented the Lord in his *word*, and so also on ver. 17, 'it repenteth me in my *word*.' These exceptions may, however, be accounted for as instances of various senses of the same term, which are sometimes employed even in the same passage, as must be the case with the text we have previously examined (Heb. iv. 13, 14), upon any possible interpretation of it. Strauss gives another explanation, namely, 'that the posterior Judaism fearing the attribution of the human form to the divine being, was accustomed to refer the language, the appearance, and the immediate actions of Jehovah to his word, or to his habitation *Shechina*.^b The following passages among others do not, however, yield to any of these explanations. The Jerusalem on Gen. iii. 22, according to Bishop Walton's own translation of it, renders, 'and the word of the Lord said, behold

^a Vide Dr. J. P. Smith, *Script. Test.*, vol. i. pp. 555-562.

^b *Leben Jesu*, ch. iv. § 61.

Adam whom I have created is the only begotten in the world as I am the only begotten in the heavens on high.' 'Here,' says Bishop Walton, 'in a single verse, creation, speaking, and being only-begotten, are attributed to the *memra*. Keil also observes that here the *memra* is represented as 'not connected with creation, but as residing in the heavens and holding this colloquy with itself.'^c Another passage has been adduced, and thus *translated* by Bertholdt. Pseudo-Jonathan and Jerusalem on Gen. xxviii. 10; 'Five miracles were wrought for Jacob at the time he went out of Beerseba. The first was that the hours of the day were made shorter, and the sun went down before his time, because the *memra* wished to speak with God.'^d On Gen. v. 24, Pseudo-Jonathan and the Jerusalem read, 'Enoch was taken away by the *word*, which is before the Lord.' On Deut. xviii. 19, Onkelos and Pseudo-Jonathan have, 'My *word* will require it of him.' The doctrine of a personal word has also been attempted to be derived from the Targums by deduction: thus, whereas Onkelos, on Gen. xx. 3, says, 'the word came from the face of the Lord,' it has been argued that upon the supposition that the word, here, means God himself, this targumist must be understood as saying God came from God. Instead of any instance being adduced containing a direct application of the term *memra* to the Messiah, it has been contended that its use in one decided prophecy concerning him is impossible. Thus the Targum on Isa. xlii. 1 reads, 'Behold my servant the Messiah; I will draw nigh to him: my chosen in whom my *memra* hath delighted itself.' On the other hand passages have been cited in which the term is by implication clearly applied to the Messiah. Thus, whereas Onkelos, Num. xxiii. 21, says, 'the word of Jova helpeth them, and the Shechina of their king is among them, and the Jerus: the *word* of Jova is with them, and a shout from the glory of their king protecteth them:' and Pseudo-Jonathan, 'the word of Jova their God is a helper to them, and the shout of the king *Messiah* is heard among them'—it has been inferred that the king Messiah and the *memra* seem to be one and the same person.^e So also the paraphrase of Onkelos on Judges vi. is inferred to involve the idea of a personal *memra*, because he who is called (ver. 11) 'the angel of the Lord,' in ver. 12, 16 is called 'the *memra* of the Lord,' and in ver. 13 'the *Shechina* of God.' The implication seems strong in this passage, and certainly the pre-existence of the Messiah is fully proved by Bertholdt to have been a doctrine of the ancient Jews, and that he

^c *De Doctoribus Vet.*, Lips. 1793.

^d *Christol. Judæorum*, Erlang. 1811.

^e Buxtorf, *Lex Tal.*, p. 2473.

'was

'was with the church in the wilderness.' The reader will pardon one quotation from the Targum of Jonathan on Isa. xvi. 1, though not strictly relevant to our present subject; 'and they shall bring gifts to the Messiah of the Israelites, who shall be strong, because he himself was in the wilderness, the rock of the church of Zion.' The theory that the phrase 'word of the Lord' is adopted to avoid the introduction of the word Jehovah, is unfounded; for not only is the word *Jejah* the very substitute in question, but Onkelos himself, in the first instance in which the word Jehovah occurs, does not use the phrase, but renders Gen. ii. 4, 'In the day when *Jejah Elohim* made the heavens and the earth;' nor in xii. 8, 'Abraham prayed in the name of *Jejah*,' so Hagar xvi. 3, and Isaac xxvi. 25. Nor is this reverential periphrasis used by him in regard to Exod. xx. 7; but, and as if to show that no fixed rule of this kind was observed by the Targumists, the Pseudo-Jonathan renders the same passage thus, 'No one of you shall swear by the name of the memra of *Jejah* your God in vain.' Strauss's theory, namely, the evitiation of anthropomorphic expressions, is refuted by many passages in Onkelos on the first five chapters of Genesis. One of the strongest of such expressions is found ii. 7: 'the Lord God formed man of the dust of the ground, and *breathed* into his nostrils;' which is rendered by Onkelos and Pseudo-Jonathan '*Jejah Elohim*.' It seems also worthy of remark that the Chaldee dialect is by no means so limited as to render its use of the word 'memra' in what Bishop Walton calls '*infinita loca*,' a matter of necessity; for besides the words '*dabar*' and '*milla*,' it uses the word '*pithgama*' in the sense of the Latin word *sermo*, speech or communication by language. Thus Onkelos on 1 Sam. iii. 1, 'The *pithgama* of *Jejah* was hidden in those days, prophecy was not manifested.' So also he renders Gen. xv. 4, 'and the *pithgama* of the Lord came to Abraham saying,' &c. Nor will there be found much weight in the objection that the early Christian writers do not appeal to the Targums in illustration of the doctrine of the logos, because the controversy in which those writers were engaged, both with Jews and Gentiles, was not relative to the *existence* of the logos, but whether the logos was incarnate in Jesus of Nazareth.

Closely allied with this part of the subject is the *cabbalistic* doctrine of the Adam Kadman, or 'the first man,' 'the first production of Divine energy,' or, 'the son of God,' the first in the Jewish system of emanations, supposed to be alluded to 1 Chron. xxix. 11, but refined and enlarged by an incorporation of Oriental, Pythagoric, and Platonic dogmas with Hebrew wisdom. Among the most celebrated students and improvers of this science was Simeon

Simeon ben Jochai, who flourished in the second century, the disciple of Akibha, and called by the Jews the prince of cabbalists. According to his Jewish historians he received revelations, which he delivered to his disciples, and by whom they were preserved in a book written in the Chaldee, and believed to be genuine, called the *Sohar* or brightness. This book contains many singular things concerning the *metatron*, which term Buxtorf says 'videtur esse Latinum,' and was probably derived from the word *mediator*, *Lex*. 1191; and teaches the identity of the *metatron*, the *Shechina*, and 'the word,' and '*Son of God*.' Schoettgen quotes from it the following titles given to the Messiah. Jehovah, the angel of God; the *Shechina*, or divine glory; the *metatron*, the *word of the Lord*, the image of God, the brightness of his glory, the Lord of Hosts, the *Son of God*, *His word in the beginning*.¹ The Jewish system of emanations exhibited in full detail in the *Sohar* is alluded to by St. Paul, when he places the Messiah above 'angels, thrones, principalities, and powers,' for these very orders of celestial natures are represented in the *Sohar* as deriving their substantial existence from the Adam Kadman, and it is probable that St. Paul's doctrine in this respect would have readily been understood by his contemporary readers.

VI. The next source of inquiry is the *works of Philo Judæus*, in which the doctrine of the logos is more fully and variously delivered than in those of any other ancient writer. He was born at Alexandria, of a noble and sacred family, most probably between twenty and thirty years B.C. It is reported that he was intimately acquainted with the writings of Plato, then held in the highest admiration at Alexandria, and in consequence partly of the real or supposed similarity of his language and ideas respecting the logos to that of the philosopher, Eusebius states that it had become a proverbial saying, 'either Philo platonizes or Plato philonizes,' a saying which found its way even into the Talmud.²

It is difficult to ascertain the religious position of Philo. Eusebius records the report that at one time of his life he had been a Christian, and other early writers relate stories of his having been baptized by St. Peter at Rome, and having afterwards apostatized.³ Dr. Jones maintains the hypothesis that he was a Christian and an apologist for the Gospel under a prudential disguise. If his hypothesis be rejected it will be very difficult to account not only for Philo's total silence respecting the events of the Christian history, notwithstanding that he was fifty years old at the crucifixion of our Lord, but also for the absence of all allusion in his

¹ *Hor. Tal.*, p. 911-913.

² *Messechat Shekalem*, c. 5.

³ Euseb., *Ecl. Hist.*, lib. ii. c. 17; Photius, *Cod.* 105.

writings to even the Jewish idea of a Messiah. The points of chief importance in regard to Philo as connected with our subject are the following : he uses the term *logos* in every possible acceptation of the term, beside that of the *divine word* ; it is possible that he held the doctrine both of a Platonic and an essential *logos*, the former being a mere metaphysical *ens divinæ rationis*, and the latter a personal agent of Deity ; he no where lays claim to originality in regard to his doctrine, but pretends to derive it from the writings of Moses ; he also makes the distinction that the definite article is employed in the Septuagint when the word *θεός* refers to the supreme God, but that when the word is anarthrous, as applied to the *logos*, it denotes him as a second and inferior God. Origen retails this canon of criticism two hundred years after, and applies it in explanation of the proem to St. John's Gospel, by affirming that ' the evangelist uses the article when the appellative *θεός* denotes the unbegotten creator of the universe, but withholds it when the *logos* is called *θεός*.' It is true that Philo might have readily found inconsistencies with this canon in the version he used, and in close proximity with the very passage on which he grounds it, Deut. iv. 24, 31, 33, 35, 39, and that Origen might have done the same in the introduction to St. John's Gospel (i. 18), but the *doctrine* of Philo is manifest even from his mistaken illustration of it, independently of the many proofs arising from his exposition of that doctrine, namely, that of a personal *logos*, distinct from God, and which he calls a second God.

The following catalogue of parallelisms between the ideas of Philo and those of St. John and other writers of the New Testament, is abridged from a collection of them by Jacob Bryant in a work entitled *The Sentiments of Philo-Judæus*, Cambridge, 1797. The *logos* is the Son of God, *υἱὸς θεοῦ*.^k The second God, the word, *δεύτερος θεός, λόγος*.^m The first begotten of God, *λόγος πρωτόγονος*.ⁿ Vide in Tischendorf, on John i. 18, the instances of early writers, who in addition to the Ethiopic version, read *ὁ μωυνογενὴς θεός*. The image of God, *εἰκὼν τοῦ θεοῦ*.^o The divine word superior to all angels, *ὑπεράνω πάντων (ἀγγέλων) λόγος θεῖος*.^p Superior to the whole world, *ὁ λόγος ὑπέρανω πάντος*.^q By whom the world was created, *ὁ ταῦτα διακοσμήσας*.^r The vicegerent or representative of God, *ὑπαρχος τοῦ θεοῦ*.^s The light of the world, *φῶς κόσμου*—and intellectual sun, *ἥλιος νοητός*.^t Who only can see God, *ὃ μόνος τὸν θεὸν ἑξέσται καθορᾶν*.^u Who dwelleth in God,

ⁱ *Comment in Johan.*^k *De Agric.* COMPARE Mark i. 1.^m *Fragm. John i. 1.*ⁿ *De Somn.* Col. i. 15.^o *Mund. Opif.* Col. i. 15.^p *De Prof.* Heb. i. 4, 6.^q *Allegor.* Heb. ii. 8.^r *De Mund. Opif.* John i. 3, 10.^s *Agric.* John xvii. 4 ; xiv. 9.^t *Somn.* John i. 4 ; ix. 8, 12.^u *Ling. Confus.* John i. 18 ; vi. 46.

ἐν θεῷ κατοικεῖ.² Eldest and before all things, *πρεσβύτατος τῶν ὅσα γέγονε.*³ Esteemed as God *λόγον ὡς αὐτὸν (θεὸν) κατανοοῦσι.*⁴ Beholds all things, *ὄξυδερκέστατος, ὡς πάντα ἐφορᾷν εἶναι ἰκανός.*⁵ Unites, preserves, and perfects the world, *δεσμός ὢν τῶν ἀπάντων συνέχει τὰ μέρη πάντα, καὶ σφίγγει· περιέχει τὰ ὅλα, καὶ πεπληρώκεν.*⁶ Nearest to God without separation, *μηδενὸς ὄντος μεθορίου διαστήματος.*⁷ Free from all sin, whether of purpose or infirmity, *ἔνευ τροπῆς ἐκουσίου, καὶ ἀκουσίου.*⁸ Presides over the weak and imperfect, *ἡμῶν τῶν ἀτελῶν θεός.*⁹ The fountain of wisdom, *σοφίας πηγὴ.*¹⁰ A messenger sent from God, *πρεσβευτῆς.*¹¹ The advocate of mortal man, *ἰκέτης τοῦ θνητοῦ.*¹² Who ordered and disposed all things, *διέειλε καὶ διένειμε πάντα.*¹³ The shepherd of God's flock, *ὅς τὴν ἐπιμελείαν τῆς ἱερᾶς ταύτης ἀγέλης ἔχει.*¹⁴ Who possesses royal power, *οὐ ἐστὶ βασιλικὴ δύναμις.*¹⁵ The healer of evils, *ιατρὸς κακῶν.*¹⁶ The seal of God, *ἡ σφραγὶς τοῦ θεοῦ.*¹⁷ The sure refuge of those who seek him, *ἐφ' ὃν πρῶτον καταφεύγειν ὠφελιμώτατον.*¹⁸ The heavenly bread of the soul, *ἡ οὐράνιος τροφὴ ψυχῆς.*¹⁹ Giving spiritual freedom, *ἐλευθερίᾳ τῆς ψυχῆς.*²⁰ Frees men from corruption and entitles them to immortality, *ὁ ἑρᾶς ἐξαίρετον δούς κληρὸν ἀθάνατον, τὴν ἐν ἀφθάρτῳ γένει τάξιν.*²¹ God's beloved son, *θεοῦ ἀγαπητὸν τέκνον.*²² The just man advanced by him to the presence of his Creator, *ιδρύσας πλησίον ἑαυτοῦ.*²³ High-priest, *ἀρχιερεύς.*²⁴ The mediator standing between the living and the dead, *λόγος ἀρχιερεύς μεθορίου, ἐν μέσῳ σταῖς τῶν τεθνηκότων καὶ τῶν ζώντων.*²⁵ Philo further says that the divine logos called to Adam in the garden,²⁶ spake to Hagar,²⁷ wrestled with Jacob,²⁸ and spake to Moses from the bush.²⁹ Mr. Bryant also produces such other striking parallels between the doctrine and language of Philo and the apostles, as might lead to the inference that he had seen their writings, p. 170 etc.

² Prof. John xiv. 11.

³ Ling. Conf. John i. 2; xvii. 5, 24.

⁴ Som. Phil. ii. 6.

⁵ Alleg. Heb. iv. 12, 13.

⁶ Prof. Fragm. John iii. 35; Col. i. 16; Heb. i. 3.

⁷ Prof. John i. 18; x. 30; xiv. 11; xvii. 11.

⁸ Prof. Heb. vii. 26; 1 Pet. ii. 22.

⁹ Alleg. Luke v. 32; 1 Tim. i. 15.

¹⁰ Prof. John iv. 14; vii. 38; 1 Cor. i. 24; Col. ii. 3; comp. Eccles. i. 5.

¹¹ Ques. Rer. Div. Har. John v. 37; viii. 29, 42.

¹² Ibid. John xiv. 16; xvii. 20; Rom. viii. 24; Heb. vii. 25.

¹³ Ibid. Col. i. 15, 16; Heb. xi. 3.

¹⁴ Agric. John x. 14; Heb. xiii. 20; 1 Pet. ii. 25.

¹⁵ Prof. 1 Cor. xv. 25; Eph. i. 21, 22; Heb. i. 2, 3; Rev. xvii. 14.

¹⁶ Alleg. Luke iv. 18; 1 Pet. ii. 24.

¹⁷ Prof. Eph. i. 13; Heb. i. 3.

¹⁸ Prof. Mat. xi. 28; 1 Pet. ii. 25.

¹⁹ Har. Mat. v. 6; John vi. 32, 35.

²⁰ Cong. Quær. Erud. John viii. 36.

²¹ Ibid. Rom. viii. 21; 1 Cor. xv. 52, 53; 1 Pet. i. 3, 4.

²² Alleg. Mat. iii. 17.

²³ Sacrific. John vi. 37, 44; xii. 26; xiv. 6.

²⁴ Somn. Heb. iv. 14.

²⁵ Quis Rer. Div. Har. 1 Tim. ii. 5; Heb. viii. 1-6; ix. 14; xii. 24.

²⁶ De Somn.

²⁷ De Cher.

²⁸ De Nom. Mut.

²⁹ De Somn.

The apparent coincidence between his doctrine and St. John's respecting the logos has suggested the question whether their doctrine be not the same, or wherein it differs. Calmet does not question the identity, but says 'St. John was more accurately informed with regard to the doctrine of the *memra*.' With regard to the origin of Philo's doctrine, whether Jewish or Platonic, he asks, 'Would learned Jews in their paraphrases and expositions of their own scriptures borrow religious ideas from heathens, or propagate heathen expressions upon so sacred a topic as the being and attributes of God?' He consistently remarks, as a member of the church of Rome: 'The councils have fixed the language of the church on this important subject, and the church by its decisions has manifested its doctrines concerning the consubstantiality of the Word, his nature, unity, and divinity of his person.'^a Bishop Pearson observes: 'This, which the Chaldee paraphrast calleth *memra*, the Hellenists call *logos*, as appeareth by Philo, who wrote before John: nor ought we to look upon Philo in this as a Platonist, but merely as a Jew, who refers his whole doctrine of the logos to the *first chapter of Genesis*. If then all the Jews, both they which understood the Chaldee expositors, and those which used only the Greek translation, had *such* a notion of the Word of God: if all things by their confession were made by the word, we have no reason to believe St. John should make of it *any other* notion than what they before had, and *that* by means whereof he might be more easily understood.'^e Mr. Bryant thinks the only difference between St. John and Philo is that the latter 'does not represent the logos having become incarnate.'^f The question has also been agitated whether St. John had seen the writings of Philo, which certainly is chronologically possible; and whether he did not write controversially in his gospel against Philo's notion of the logos. The latter question involves however the point whether their notions really differ. It can scarcely be imagined that their writings were utterly unknown to each other. Alexandrian Jews visited Ephesus, St. John's abode in later years (Acts xviii. 24), and a synagogue of Alexandrian Jews, that is a seminary of theological learning, for that department was united with its religious purposes, existed at an early period at Jerusalem (Acts vi. 9). At the same time it must be observed that some learned writers have contended for the wholly Platonic nature of Philo's doctrine of the logos.^g This, therefore, like every other point in the whole connected question, has been a subject of controversy. Josephus belongs to this æra, and in the

^a Dictionary, art. 'Word.'^e *Expos. of the Creed*, art. 2, ch. 1, n.^f P. 213.^g Burton's *Bampton Lecture*, 1829, note 93.

Discourse to the Greeks concerning Hades, which is ascribed to him, we find the distinction between 'God the Word,' and the Father, 'to whom the Father hath committed all judgment, and whom God the Father hath glorified,' § 6. The Christian Fathers frequently designate the logos by the phrase 'God the Word.'

VII. It is natural to turn from the foregoing statements to the doctrines of *early Christian writers*, and especially to those of the apostolical fathers; so called because immediately succeeding the inspired teachers of the Gospel. The utility of their writings proceeds upon the presumption that the converts of the apostles themselves would hardly have totally forgotten, or wholly perverted, the doctrines of their instructors. Nor is this presumption altogether invalidated by their ill-maintained imitation of the apostolical style, and the irrational conceptions which render their effusions, as Neander^b justly remarks, 'not as in other cases a gradual transition, but a *sudden spring*,' placing in remarkable contrast the peculiar activity of the divine spirit in the souls of the apostles, and the time of the free developement of human nature in Christianity.

From the very commencement of this æra we find the doctrine of the logos undergoing various modifications, owing to the speculative notions and other circumstances peculiar to the times, and the infusion of foreign elements. The Ebionites in the second century merged it in their humanitarian hypothesis of Messiah's nature, which had no doubt been also entertained by some of the more ancient Jews, and was now simply transferred by their successors to the nature of Jesus.ⁱ The Alogi, whose leaders were Theodotus and Artemon, denied the doctrine, either on rationalistic grounds, or by confounding the hypostasis of the Father and the Son, without however denying that God was in Christ; and the Gnostics blended it with their system of æons. These varieties of opinion elicited from the orthodox Fathers statements of what they considered to be the true doctrine, and from their animadversions we may gather their own opinions, which, though dissonant in some respects, nevertheless concur in ascribing *personality* and *pre-existence to the logos*. Thus Ignatius, 107 A.D., writing to the Magnesians (§ 8), says:—'God manifested himself through Jesus Christ his Son, who is, αὐτοῦ λόγος αἰδίας, οὐκ ἀπὸ σιγῆς προελθὼν, ὃς κατὰ πάντα εὐαρέστησεν τῷ πέμψαντι αὐτον, who is his eternal logos,^k not coming forth from *silence*, who in all things pleased him that sent him.' It has however been contended that the word *Sige* here

^b In Hagenbach's *Hist. Op.* vol. i. p. 52.

Vide Kuinoel, *Comment. Prol. in Johan.*, p. 84-91, 111 n.

^k An epithet applied to him by Philo. *De Plant. No.*

refers

refers to one of the Gnostic æons, denoting the mind of Deity, and implying the solitude in which he existed prior to the creation.^m *Sige* was one of the æons of Basilides. If the word be translated *silence*, the personality of the logos seems clearly intimated, since it is the nature of mere speech or verbal communication that it *does* 'come out of silence.'

The chief question in the whole enquiry is, whether the logos is used either as the inward reason or thought of Deity, or the *medium* whereby that thought is made known, like the distinction between the Latin words *ratio* and *oratio*. Hence the distinction so often made by early Christian writers, and which they probably borrowed from the Stoics, between λόγος ἐνδιάθετος and λόγος προφορικὸς, the internal and external logos.

Ignatius, in the salutation to his Epistle to the Smyrneans, wishes them 'all joy from God, through his immaculate Spirit and the logos of God.' Justin Martyr, 150 A.D., follows Philo, with the only difference that he identifies the logos by whom God created the world and manifested himself, with his incarnate Son even Jesus Christ.ⁿ 'Next to God we revere and love the logos of the underived and ineffable God, who for our sake became man.'^o 'The logos was really begotten of the Father, and proceeded from Him before any creature was made, existed with the Father, and the Father *conversed* with him.'^p He illustrates the generation of the logos as προέρχεσθαι ἀπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς, as γεννᾶσθαι, προβάλλεσθαι, and compares it to 'words which a man utters without sustaining any personal diminution, and to fire which kindles fire without itself suffering any loss.' Tatian, a contemporary of Justin and his convert, but who ultimately embraced a modification of Gnosticism, uses similar illustrations, and according to him the logos was 'imminent' (ὕπείσθησε) in the Father, but derived his existence (προπηδᾶ) from his will, and became thus ἔργον πρωτότοκον of the Father, ἀρχὴ τοῦ κόσμου. He is begotten κατὰ μερισμὸν, not κατ' ἀποκοπήν. Athenagoras, A.D. 170, calls the logos, in opposition to the sons of the heathen gods, λόγος τοῦ πατρὸς ἐν ἰδέᾳ καὶ ἐνεργείᾳ, a distinction which corresponds to the λόγος ἐνδιάθετος and λόγος προφορικὸς. Theophilus, A.D. 168, introduces this distinction, *totidem verbis*, and according to him the former means the essence of Deity, and the latter a being produced or sent into existence by Him before all things.^q Melito, A.D. 175, says, 'We are worshippers of the only God, who was before all things, and also of his Christ, who was verily the logos of God before the worlds.'^r Irenæus, A.D. 185, speaks of 'the logos of God through

^m Jacobson's *Patres Apostolici*. Oxford, 1840, tom. ii. p. 320.

ⁿ *Apol.* 2. 6.

^o *Apol.* 1. *sub finem*.

^p *Dial. cum Trypho*.

^q *Ad. Autol.* 2. 10.

^r *Vide Routh's Rel. Sac.* vol. i. p. 112.

whom

whom all things were made, who is our Lord Jesus Christ.* He also calls him 'God,'† and says 'the word always coexisted with the Father.'‡

Clemens Alexandrinus, A.D. 194, makes the doctrine of the logos the central point of his whole theology, the mainspring of his religious feelings and sentiments. He attributes the creation of the world to him, both *primarily* and instrumentally:—'He gave the law, through him God has manifested himself: he is superior to men and angels, but subordinate to the Father.'§ Clemens applies many of Philo's terms to the logos, asserts worship to be due to him, but speaks less explicitly than the former writers respecting the mode of the generation. He also holds, along with the concrete idea of the individuality of the logos, another notion of a more general import, according to which the logos is identical with the higher spiritual life, the life of ideas in general, by which the world was moved even previous to the coming of Christ.¶ Some modern writers complain of the indistinctness of his doctrine of the logos; others contend that he has treated the dogma with greater clearness than all the other Fathers of this period, but with unusual depth of feeling and the most ardent enthusiasm.‡ Tertullian, A.D. 200, recognises a personal logos, but asserts that though he was always *in* the Father, he was not always put forth; and illustrates his notion by the root which puts forth the branch, the fountain the river, the sun a ray.¶ In c. 9 the son is called a *portio* of the Father. He tells the heathen that their philosophers had ascribed the creation of the world to a logos.‡ So does Lactantius.¶ Tertullian, however, preferred rendering the word logos by *ratio*.‡ He makes the distinction also that *vous* put not forth *ratio*, but *sermo*.¶

On the whole Hagenbach observes that the idea which these early writers were accustomed to attach to the term logos was more or less indefinite: some understood by it a real personality (the pre-existence of Christ); others look upon it in a more abstract sense.¶ Dr. Whitby says: 'The *general* doctrine of the Fathers is that the logos was strictly and from all eternity *in* God the Father, and yet that before the creation of the world there was a *προβολή καὶ ἀπόρροια*, a projection or efflux of this word from the Father.'§ It is needless to bring the history lower down than the time of Origen, A.D. 240, who preferred deviating from the common usage, and employs more uniformly than the former writers the expression 'son of God,' by which the idea of personality was

* *Contra Hæresios*, lib. 3, c. 8, § 2.

† *Strom.* vii. 2.

‡ *Adv. Prax.* c. 2. 5.

§ *Ad Valentin.* 7.

¶ *Comp. Strom.* v.

‡ *Apol.* c. 21.

§ *Ibid.* 115.

¶ § 9.

‡ C. 30.

§ Hagenbach, vol. i. p. 114.

¶ *Inst.* 4. 9.

‡ *Adv. Prax.* c. 5.

§ *Comment. on N. T.*

much more strongly expressed (*In Johan.*). Yet concerning the Son of God, Origen makes the same remarks which former writers had made concerning the logos; or rather his doctrine consists of a union of their terms and ideas. From his time the term logos fell into comparative disuse, and new controversies arising from the phrase 'Son of God,' divided the Christian church.

It may here be interesting to advert to a remarkable passage in Origen's answer to Celsus, an Epicurean philosopher, in the second century. Celsus, personating the Jewish adversary, charges the Christians 'with imposture in saying that the Son of God is the logos, because they exhibited not a pure and holy logos, but a man dishonoured, dragged away to punishment, and tortured to death; and yet, he adds, if it be your doctrine that the logos is the Son of God, this we also admit.' So far it appears plain that the philosopher may be understood as propounding the doctrine of the Jews in his time respecting the identity of the logos and the Son of God, but as simply rejecting the application of the doctrine to Jesus. But a difficulty presents itself in Origen's reply, who says 'that he had mixed with Jews professing to be learned men, but that he had never heard any one admitting the logos to be the Son of God.' The solution seems to lie in the distinction made by Origen, namely, 'the Jews *he had mixed with*;' and Bishop Pearson suggests that 'between the time of Celsus and Origen (about 60 years) the Jews had learned to deny the notion of the logos, that they might with more colour reject St. John.'^h The assertion of Justin Martyr, who had long before replied to Jewish adversaries, casts further light upon the difficulty, namely, 'that the Jews in his time' expected the Messiah to possess a kingdom and to be God, an object of worship, but simply contended that *Jesus* was not the Messiah.ⁱ

VIII. The doctrine of the logos presents itself, though under a very different aspect, in the *Koran of Mahomet*, A.D. 622. In chap. iii. it is said, 'John shall bear witness to the Word that cometh from God,' which passage, however, the Mahometan commentators expound of the *command* of God, by which Jesus was conceived without a father.^k The term Son of God provokes the oft-repeated reproof and indignation of Mahomet, who represents the idea as derogatory to the divine omnipotence (chap. ii.), His self-sufficiency (171), His independence (231, 285); and some of his reasons are taken from the lowest Arabian anthropomorphism, for he argues that God 'needs no son to protect Him!' It is, however, truly singular that he considers it to be no inconsistency with his zeal for monotheism to represent the Deity as speaking

^h *Expos. Creed*, art. 2 n.ⁱ *Dial. cum Trypho.*^k Sale's *Koran*, note *ibid.* in

in the plural number, 'We.'^m The doctrine of emanations had undergone a decided check in the source whence he derived his ideas, for he represents even Eblis, the superior angel, 'as created out of fire.'ⁿ

IX. Some traces of the doctrine of the logos are discernible in the theological opinions of *existing heathen nations*.

It will scarcely be considered probable perhaps by those who have weighed the evidence adduced by Brucker, that the Zend, attributed to the Persian reformer Zoroaster, is really a genuine production, although it may probably contain some of his doctrines, but that the most likely conjecture is, that it was written about the fourth or fifth century, when many Jews and Christians resided in Persia. Sir William Jones considers it to be a modern compilation.^o Nevertheless the traces of the doctrine of the logos to be found in it serve to show the opinions held by its compilers. To those who, along with Mosheim, believe that Zoroaster was of Jewish descent, and appeared in the reign of Darius Hystaspis, 486 B.C., was a servant of Daniel the prophet, reformed the ancient Magian religion of Persia upon the model of Judaism, had Pythagoras for a disciple, and presented the Zend, which he had partly borrowed from the Jewish Scriptures, in person to Darius—the traces in question will appear as interesting illustrations of the ancient Jewish doctrine of the memra. The work entitled *The Oracles of Zoroaster* is supposed by Brucker to have been written by some Platonist about the beginning of the second century. In these books, however, personality is ascribed to the *word* (Höner), which is represented as 'the child of Ormusd, and his most immediate revelation.' Among other attributes, pre-existence before all created things is ascribed to him, instrumentality in the creation, the conquest of Ahriman the evil genius, the relief of human necessities, and the sanctification of mankind. He is further described as the object of prayer and religious worship.

Similar analogies have been observed in the *Hindu* mythology. The *word* by which Brahma created the world is named Om (oum).^p Correspondences with the doctrine of the logos are alleged to exist in the sacred system of the *Chinese*, by Père du Halde in *Description Historique de l'Empire de la Chine*, who, more than any European even down to the present day, had access to these sources of information, and was better qualified to estimate their contents. He states that these ancient books contain frequent references to 'a minister of the Supreme God, whom they call the Saint or Holy One, *par excellence*, and give to him the names,

^m Chap. 21, *passim*.

ⁿ P. 117. 376.

^o *Asiatic Researches*, vol. ii. p. 51.

^p *Bohlen das alte Indien*, vol. i. p. 159 n.

Prince of Peace, the Divine Man, Son of the Sovereign Lord, Son of Heaven, &c., whom they also represent as having created the universe, and as then becoming Lord and instructor of mankind; as speaking with a human voice; as the messenger or mediator of the supreme divinity Xang-ti; as existing before anything was produced, and yet destined to appear on earth; as he alone who can sanctify the heart; the beginning and Lord of all things; and who only can offer a sacrifice worthy of God.⁹

It was thought by Mr. Bruce the traveller that he had discerned a resemblance to the doctrine of the logos in the proceedings of the court of Abyssinia, particularly in the office of the Kal Hatze, the voice or *word* of the king, who, being seated in a high balcony, transmits his will through this functionary, and who comes down the staircase leading from the balcony and delivers the royal message to the council-table. This office Bruce compares to that of the memra in the Chaldee paraphrasts, and finds a resemblance to it in the office of 'the interpreter, who stood between Joseph and his brethren' (Gen. xlii. 23).^r Bruce adds that the king sometimes spoke to him and his companions in person, and sometimes through the Kal Hatze, which is another circumstance similar to the narrative of Joseph; for it is evident from ver. 24 of that chapter, that Joseph understood the language of his brethren (comp. chap. xliii. 27), as his brethren did that of Joseph's steward (ver. 19, &c.; and comp. chap. xxxix. and xlv., *passim*). Calmet perceives in the office of the Kal Hatze an illustration of the description of the logos in Ecclesiasticus, and observes that the words 'he leaped down out of royal thrones' must be understood of the staircase leading to the regal balcony. The word '*thy*' (royal throne) is not found in any Greek copy of Ecclesiasticus.

It is now time to submit to the reader's judgment some conclusions from the foregoing digest of information derived from these various sources, respecting the nature of the logos. We proffer the following:—

1. Notwithstanding the great difficulties attending the enquiry, arising partly from the nature of the subject itself, and partly from the intricate state of our information, the weight of evidence preponderates decidedly in favour of the opinion, that the doctrine of a personal logos, existing prior to created things, and the chief medium of divine agency, was held under various modifications by all nations of the ancient world: that this doctrine was derived from primæval revelation and the actual intercourse of the logos with mankind on various occasions, commencing with the first

⁹ Vol. ii. p. 309 n.

^r *Travels*, vol. iii. p. 231-265,

family of the human race : that this doctrine and the records of that intercourse were preserved pure in the scriptures of the Old Testament, but that both became distorted and corrupted in the minds of the heathens : that the doctrine pervades the details of the New Testament, is the true theory of the superior nature of the Saviour Jesus Christ, and shines with concentrated effulgence in the writings of St. John. Such appears to be the just inference from the *consentaneous materials*, both as it respects the term *logos* itself and the particulars constituting the doctrine, derived not only from the New and Old Testament, but from all collateral sources near and remote.

2. The doctrine of the *logos* affords an easy and entire solution to all the exalted things both addressed to Jesus by his apostles while on earth and accepted by him, and asserted also concerning him by those whom he appointed and empowered to become the preachers of his Gospel to all nations. To the mind *prepared* with a knowledge of this doctrine, all those passages appear to stand forth in the most definite and brilliant relief; and the attempts made to render them consistent with any humanitarian hypothesis of the Messiah's nature seem not only to result from an unfortunate ignorance of the august meaning they plainly convey, but to exhibit the most deplorable outrages of all legitimate criticism. We particularly refer to the introduction to St. John's Gospel, the address of Thomas to his risen master, and numerous other passages whose import clearly conveys the doctrines of the Saviour's pre-existence and glory; such as the following in St. John's Gospel : i. 15, 18 ; vii. 27 ; viii. 58, 59 ; xvii. 5 ; vi. 62 ; iii. 13 ; vi. 42, 46 ; viii. 14 ; v. 42 ; vi. 23 ; x. 30 ; v. 19.* That the doctrine of the *logos* was familiar to the Jewish mind, is the solution of many incidents recorded in the New Testament. To this previous acquaintance with it we attribute the absence of surprise on the part of Nicodemus when he received our Lord's statements (John iii. 13-21), which have by some commentators been considered not as parts of our Lord's actual conversation with the teacher of Israel, but as *gnomai* of the evangelist upon the conversation. Upon the same principle we clearly understand the offence taken by the Jews that our Lord, who appeared without parade and ostentation, should claim priority of existence to Abraham, not because they did not know that the Christ should have an unknown and even celestial origin, and 'abide for ever,'[†] but because their minds were too much swayed by objections

* Comp. Dan. vii. 13 ; Mal. iii. 1, &c. ; xi. 27 ; xvi. 27 ; xxv. 31 ; Luke x. 27 ; Mar. viii. 38 ; 1 Cor. xv. 47 ; Phil. ii. 6 ; 2 Cor. iv. 4 ; Heb. i. 3, 8 ; Eph. iv. 9. For others see Kuinoel, *Proleg.* p. 114, *sub finem*.

† Comp. John vii. 27 ; xii. 34.

derived from his outward condition ever to admit the idea that such prerogatives could belong to *him*.^a It was not the question with our Lord's contemporaries whether there was any divine logos, but whether that logos was incarnate in Jesus of Nazareth. Nor did the term 'Son of God,' when first used by John the Baptist (John i. 34), sound in their ears with the strangeness of an unknown appellation; nor did the Sanhedrim revolt, like Mahomet, from the *nature* of such a relation, but simply from *his* assumption of it. 'Art thou the Son of God? Ye say that I am.' This was *his* 'blasphemy.'

3. While, however, we deplore the consequences which have resulted in the Unitarian interpretation of the New Testament from ignorance of this subject, we equally lament the extravagances in criticism, owing to the same cause, which are chargeable upon the advocates of a tritheistical hypothesis. The effort to maintain *extreme opinions* produces results which nearly coincide. Hence controvertists on both sides have done similar violence not only to the sacred text, but to all the auxiliary sources of information. How frequently have they adduced passages from both Jewish and Christian writers, which in an insulated state are flexible for almost any purpose, but which when restored to their proper connection speak a very different language! How foreign from the minds of the original writers may be the *deductions* derived from a *series* of such quotations! The consequence of such a proceeding on the part of writers reputedly orthodox has been that the Socinian has run to the opposite extreme, and, as Whiston remarks, by a sad ἀμετρία τῆς ἀβολικῆς has been so affrighted by unjustifiable notions about the Trinity as to affirm that Jesus had no existence till he was born of the Virgin Mary.^x From among the many species of critical malversation alluded to, we will give one instance of *over-translation* from Archbishop Wake's *Epistles of the Apostolical Fathers*, of the following passage, which, be it observed, is not attended by any various readings, at least by any affecting the point in view. Δοξαζων Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν τὸν θεὸν τὸν οὕτως ὑμᾶς σοφίσαντα, which the Primate renders, 'I glorify God, even Jesus Christ, who has given you such wisdom.' The discerning reader is well aware that the sense of this passage, although an indubitable instance in which Jesus Christ is called God, is not correctly represented in this translation. The fact is that disputants on both sides have too often submitted their materials to the destructive standard of Procrustes. The time may come when extreme views on both sides may subside into the safer and more scrip-

^a Comp. John viii. 58. 34.

^x *Advice for the Study of Divinity.*

⁷ *Ign. ad Smyrn.*, § 1.

tural medium. Many partisans in each have yet to learn that the only legitimate province of the enquirer is to gather up the details of revelation, and practically to use them without either presuming or feeling it requisite to form an hypothesis from them; and that still more gratuitous and unphilosophical is the procedure of bringing a previously formed hypothesis to bear upon revelation. The great difficulty of the subject arises solely from the misapplied introduction into it of theory, which, of whatever kind, leads almost certainly to the *fabrication* of some *nexus* requisite either to give consistency to the whole, or to unite some of its several portions. Most cordially do we re-echo the following sentiment of a living prelate: 'The only ancient, only catholic truth is, the *Scriptural fact*. Let us hold that fast in its depth and breadth—in nothing extenuating—in nothing abridging—in simplicity and sincerity—and we can neither be Sabellians, or Tritheists, or Socinians.'²

The fact is that the catholic doctrine of our Saviour's person is often mistaken both by its adversaries and upholders, who may frequently be found contending for and against merely their own mistaken notions of it. That doctrine is thus comprehensively stated by one of its ablest expounders, Bishop Bull: 'Qui filium proprie dici posse *αὐτόθεον* hoc est a *se ipso Deum*, pertinaci studio contendunt. Hæc sententia catholico consensui repugnat.'¹

¹ *Dr. Hampden. Bampton Lectures*, 1832, p. 149, 150.

² *Defens. Nic.*, § 4. cap. 1. § 7.

ON THE MIRACLE OF JOSHUA.

By J. VON GUMPACH.

ALTHOUGH on the doctrine of miracles it will be difficult for theologians to agree, until they shall have first agreed on the precise nature and the definition of a miracle, yet the two most essential points of that doctrine are admitted by all, namely, that it is in the power of the Almighty to suspend the laws of His own creation whenever He may judge it proper so to do; and that the necessary qualification of a miracle is its answering some grand, lasting, and ostensible purpose. In cases, therefore, in which the miraculous character of an event related in Holy Scripture is subject to doubt, our first inquiry must be,—Does the narrative of the sacred writer point to an end so important, and of a tendency so lasting, as to warrant the conclusion on our part that, in order to accomplish it, the All-wise Being, whose eternal laws sustain the universe, should, though but for a moment, have disturbed those laws? and our second—Has the great aim contemplated been accomplished? If to these questions the context of Scripture returns us no satisfactory answer, it ought to be a proof to us that no miracle is spoken of, and that the difficulty we may experience in explaining the scriptural meaning, arises solely from our own deficiency in, or want of, that particular knowledge necessary for its natural solution.*

Few passages in the Old Testament have attracted greater attention, and, as to their true meaning, have been more variously interpreted than the well-known passage in the Book of Joshua, ch. x. 12—14. The chosen people of God had entered the Promised Land; as far as Jericho and Ai the country had fallen into their possession, and the Gibeonites, under false pretences, bought peace from Joshua at the price of freedom. When the news of these events reached the ear of Adoni-zedek, the Jebusite king of Jerusalem, he at once, in unison with four of the most powerful chiefs of the Amorites, prepared to oppose the further

* 'Le miracle,' says Léon de Laborde, in his *Comment. Géogr.*, p. 94, 'n'a pas besoin d'un grand appareil de science et de recherches; il suffit de lire le texte et d'y croire.' True, where the text is clear and plain. Our readers will not, we hope, overlook that we speak of passages of doubtful meaning. In regard to such, we hold it to be as sinful, without due inquiry, to impute to the Supreme Being acts unworthy, as far as our poor understanding enables us to judge, of His infinite wisdom, as we would hold it to be to doubt the veracity of His distinctly written word.

progress of the conquering invaders ; and, in order to deter other tribes from following the example set by the Gibeonites, to inflict a severe chastisement, for their cowardly submission, on the latter, as well as to possess themselves of their strong and populous city. For this purpose the allied army had encamped before Gibeon. The sacred text, according to the authorized version, hereupon proceeds thus :—

Ver. 6. And the men of Gibeon sent unto Joshua to the camp to Gilgal, saying, Slack not thy hand from thy servants ; come up to us quickly, and save us and help us : for all the kings of the Amorites that dwell in the mountains are gathered together against us.

7. So Joshua ascended from Gilgal, he, and all the people of war with him, and all the mighty men of valour.

8. And the Lord said unto Joshua, Fear them not ; for I have delivered them into thine hand ; there shall not a man of them stand before thee.

9. Joshua, therefore, came unto them suddenly, and went up from Gilgal all night.

10. And the Lord discomfited them before Israel, and slew them with a great slaughter at Gibeon, and chased them along the way that goeth up to Beth-horon, and smote them to Azekah, and unto Makkedah.

11. And it came to pass, as they fled from before Israel, and were in the going down to Beth-horon, that the Lord cast down great stones from heaven upon them unto Azekah, and they died : *they were* more which died with hailstones than *they* whom the children of Israel slew with the sword.

12. Then spake Joshua to the Lord in the day when the Lord delivered up the Amorites before the children of Israel, and he said in the sight of Israel, Sun, stand thou still upon Gibeon ; and thou, moon, in the valley of Ajalon.

13. And the sun stood still, and the moon stayed, until the people had avenged themselves upon their enemies. *Is* not this written in the book of Jasher ? So the sun stood still in the midst of heaven, and hasted not to go down about a whole day.

14. And there was no day like that before it or after it, that the Lord hearkened unto the voice of a man ; for the Lord fought for Israel.

The majority of Christian expositors in adopting the view of Jesus Sirach (xlvi. v. 5), and of Josephus (*Antiq.* v. i. 17), have recognized a miracle in the event related in the latter verses of this passage. Yet if we apply to it the rule laid down above, it will lead, we apprehend, to a different conclusion. The issue of the battle against the five kings of the Amorites in favour of the children of Israel must necessarily be regarded as the ostensible purpose of the assumed miracle. This purpose certainly was accomplished. But were its results of a nature so vast and important,

important, and of a tendency so lasting, as to justify the conclusion of their having been obtainable only by the Omnipotent, ('whose administration,' as the late Dr. Chalmers admirably remarks,^b 'is coeval with the first purposes of His uncreated mind, and points to eternity,') suspending to that end the unchangeable laws of His creation? No one, probably, will affirm this. The fruits of a victory to-day may, without leaving so much as a trace, be swept away by a defeat to-morrow. The Jews had previously, without the miraculous interposition of the Deity, overcome their enemies, and they overcame them thereafter; they had before been suffered to be beaten, and they were suffered to be beaten again; nay, the alleged miracle was so far from awing, as may naturally be supposed it would have done, the Canaanites into immediate and absolute subjection, that we read, ch. xv. v. 63, thus:—'As for the Jebusites, the inhabitants of Jerusalem, the children of Judah could not drive them out: but the Jebusites dwell with the children of Judah at Jerusalem unto this day;' cf. also ch. xvi. v. 10.

We have, therefore, on the very outset of our inquiry, the strongest reason to look upon the common interpretation of our passage as erroneous. A further consideration of the sacred narrative will most fully bear us out in this conclusion; presenting, as that narrative does, two or three striking features which can hardly fail to force themselves upon our attention. The first is that, according to verses 8—11, which constitute the main account (and a very graphic one) of the battle and the previous march of Joshua, the Lord had, *before* the contest commenced, and *before* the Jewish leader pronounced his celebrated address to the sun, *already given him the promise of victory*. Why then, after this promise, still demand an additional, a *useless* miracle? Did Joshua *doubt* the word of Jehovah? The sacred text, v. 9, cf. v. 8, implies most clearly the contrary. Did he wish the sun to stand still *for a sign to his army*? Presumptuous beyond bounds as it would have been for mortal man to entertain any wish of such import, could Joshua have given expression to it, without the fear of calling down upon his head the just anger of God's offended majesty? Nor does a *victorious* general *require* a sign from heaven to command the confidence of his followers. On the eve of a battle, after a previous defeat, the Jewish leader might have felt anxious for some such token; but even under similar circumstances, ch. viii., cf. ch. vii., the very thought would not seem to have occurred to his mind, and we find the invading Jewish army, after a first and serious reverse under the walls of Ai, *upon the simple encouragement of Jehovah*, as confidently return to the

^b *Evidences of Christianity*, vol. i., p. 324.

attack, as if no disaster had ever befallen them. In connection with this argument, it must be considered an important circumstance, that in the main account of the battle of Gibeon, a mere episode of which, chronologically appertaining to verses 8 and 9, is the subject of the following verses 12—14, *not the slightest allusion to the assumed miracle occurs.*

The second distinguishing feature of our narrative is, that in the episode itself, just alluded to, it is, v. 14, *positively stated*, that the miraculous occurrence of the day, and the object of Joshua's prayer to the Lord, were confined to His direct assistance: **THE FIGHTING OF THE LORD HIMSELF FOR ISRAEL.** What can be more plain than these words? How is it possible, we would ask, that the common interpretation of our passage should by men of piety and learning have so long been insisted on, nay, that it should *ever* have been entertained, in direct opposition to the testimony of Holy Scripture? The love of the marvellous, and the influence of inherited impressions, must, indeed, hold a powerful grasp upon our mind, to shut its eye even against that light which emanates, as evidence, from the inspired volume itself.

As the third feature of our passage may be noticed, that the expedition of Joshua was undertaken (v. 6 and 7) upon his own advice, and without the express command of Jehovah. It did not, consequently, possess that character by which we are justified in assuming it would have been distinguished, had the Lord intended it to serve one of His own divine purposes.

Nor is this all. We have to consider, moreover, that the presumed miracle rests upon an *erroneous* view of the mighty mechanism of God's creation. With the error the miracle vanishes. How then can the miracle have existed? Every one knows that until within a few centuries from our own time, the general opinion current among mankind made the sun revolve daily round the immovable earth; every one is now convinced of the contrary, and that the effect said to have been the result of Joshua's command, could only have been produced by the rotation of our planet round its own axis being suspended, according to the various computations of different commentators, for the space of from four to twenty-four hours. Joshua calling on the *sun* to stand still, his command, even if obeyed, could not possibly have affected the natural duration of the day in the very slightest degree, and would, therefore, have been but an idle mockery. To this argument it has been objected, that the expression of the Jewish leader is to be regarded as a permutation, and a mere figure of speech, the use of which is even now continued, although we know it to be based on a false notion. Very true; but the objection, so far from weakening, materially tends to strengthen our argument;

because

because Joshua's expression being only *rendered* a permutation by our superior knowledge, was not originally, when this knowledge had not as yet been acquired, considered as such. If men had been familiar with the real structure of the universe in the primitive times of our history, such expressions as 'the sun has performed his daily course;' 'the sun is rising or setting;' and many similar others, would be unknown in language.

Of further moment, in regard to our question, is, that we find the presumed miracle in no one instance adverted to in the later writings of the Old Testament, *although the prophet Isaiah* (ch. xxviii. 21) *evidently alludes to this very passage, and to the hail-storm*—'the strange act' which Jehovah on this occasion 'brought to pass' in favour of Israel. The supposed reference to the more miraculous event by the prophet Habakkuk (ch. iii. 11) rests entirely on a misconception of the meaning of his words.

Lastly, it is to be observed that, according to the English rendering and interpunctuation, the words of Joshua, 'Sun, stand thou still upon Gibeon, and thou, moon, in the valley of Ajalon,' clearly form no finished sentence; for if so, both sun and moon, supposing God to have given effect to the command of Joshua, ought to have remained stationary from that moment for all future times.

Upon the most ample grounds, therefore, the commonly accepted interpretation of our passage is, in our opinion, to be rejected; and this being the case, it becomes our province to inquire whether the sacred text will bear such a construction as to admit of a natural solution of the difficulties which it would seem to present. For this purpose we will here transcribe and illustrate it by some few annotations necessary for the correct understanding of it.

יִשְׁלַח אִנְשֵׁי נִבְעֹז (A) אֶל־יְהוֹשֻׁעַ אֶל־הַמַּחֲנֶה הַגָּלְגָלָה (B) לְמוֹד אֶל־
 תָּרֹף (C) יָדִיד מִעֲבָדֶיךָ עָלֶיהָ אֵילֵינוּ מִהֲרָה יְהוֹשֻׁעָה לָנוּ וְעֹזְרֵנוּ כִּי
 נִקְבְּצוּ אֵילֵינוּ כָּל־מַלְכֵי הָאָמָרִי יִשְׁבִּי הָהָר (D) : וַיַּעַל (E) יְהוֹשֻׁעַ מִן־
 הַגָּלְגָל הוּא וְכָל־עַם הַמִּלְחָמָה עִמּוֹ וְכָל גִּבּוֹרֵי הַחֵיָל : וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה
 אֶל־יְהוֹשֻׁעַ (F) אֶל־תִּירָא מֵהֶם כִּי בְיָדְךָ נִתְּנִים לֹא־עֲמֹד אִישׁ מֵהֶם
 בְּפָנֶיךָ : וַיָּבֹא אֲלֵיהֶם יְהוֹשֻׁעַ פָּתָאִם (G) כָּל־הַלַּיְלָה עָלָה מִן־הַגָּלְגָל (H) :
 וַיְהִי יוֹמָה לִפְנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל וַיָּבֹם מִכָּה־גְדוֹלָה בְּנִבְעֹז וַיִּרְדְּפֵם דָּרָךְ
 מֵעֵלָה בֵּית־חֹזוֹן (J) וַיָּבֹם עַד־עֹזְקָה וְעַד־מִקְדָּה (K) : וַיְהִי בְּנוֹסָם מִפְּנֵי
 יִשְׂרָאֵל הֵם בְּמוֹרֵד בֵּית־חֹזוֹן וַיְהוֹה הַשִּׁלִּיד עֲלֵיהֶם אֲבָנִים גְּדֹלוֹת (L)

מִן־הַשָּׁמַיִם עַד־עֵזְקָה וַיָּמְנוּ רַבִּים אֲשֶׁר־מָתוּ בְּאַבְנֵי הַבֶּרֶד מֵאִשׁ
הָרָגוּ בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל בְּחֶרֶב (מ) אִזְּ יִדְבָּר יְהוֹשֻׁעַ לַיהוָה (נ) בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא
יְהוָה אֶת־הָאֱמֹרִי לִפְנֵי בְנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל : וַיֹּאמֶר לְעֵינֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל (ו)

שָׁמַשׁ בְּנִבְעֹן דָּוִם (פ)

וַיֵּרָח בְּעֵמֶק אֵילָן (q)

—וַיֵּדֶם הַשָּׁמַשׁ וַיֵּרָח עָמֶד— (r)

עַד־יָקָם נוֹי אִיבִיז (s)

הֲלֹא־הָיָא כְּתוּבָה עַל־סֵפֶר הַיָּשָׁר (t) : וַיַּעֲמֵד הַשָּׁמַשׁ בְּחֶצִי הַשָּׁמַיִם (u)
וְלֹא־אָץ לָבוֹא בַּיּוֹם תָּמִים (v) : וְלֹא הָיָה בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא לִפְנֵי וְאַחֲרָיו
לִשְׁמֹעַ יְהוָה בְּקוֹל אִישׁ (w) כִּי יְהוָה נָלָחָם לְיִשְׂרָאֵל :

(A). *Gibeon*, Γαβαὼν and Γαβαώ, *Gibeon*, a city of considerable extent (Josh. x. 2), was situated on an eminence at a distance of from forty (Joseph. *Ant.* vii. 11. 7) to fifty stadia (Joseph. *Wars*, ii. 19. 1) to the north of Jerusalem, on the road to Beth-horon and Lydda. Its site is, according to Robinson, now occupied by the village *العيب*, *el-Jib*.

(B). *Gilgal*, גִּלְגָּל, Γαλγала, *Gilgal*, the first place in Canaan where Joshua pitched his camp after the passage of the Jordan, and the centre of his subsequent military operations; so named in commemoration of the renewal of the circumcision, from גִּלְגָּל 'the rolling away,' namely, of the reproach of Egypt from off the Israelites (Josh. v. 9)—a derivation much called into doubt, but unreasonably so. A similar etymology of *Tomi* is given by Ovid. *Trist.* iii. 9. 33—

Inde *Tomos* dictus locus est, quia fertur in illo
Membra soror fratris consecuisse sui

Josephus (*Wars*, iv. 19; cf. *Ant.* v. 1. 4) places Gilgal at a distance of fifty stadia from the river, and of ten stadia to the east of Jericho. By some commentators it has been contended, but without sufficient grounds to support their view, that Gilgal in the mountains, not very distant from Bethel, and mentioned Deut. xi. 30, and frequently in the Book of Judges and the First Book of Samuel, is here spoken of.

(c). *Slack not thy hand from*, 'Grant protection to' thy servants.

(d). The apposition יְשִׁי הָרָר to הָאֱמֹרִי is to be understood
à potiori.

à potiori. The mountaineers, being the most potent of the Amorite tribes, are here named *instar omnium*. Rosenmüller erroneously concludes from this apposition that all the cities, named ver. 3, were situated in the mountain of Juda.

(E). **וַיַּעַל** *ascended*. **עָלָה** in this place is more correctly taken in *sensu militari*, as in ver. 4 and 6.

(F). **וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה וְנִי**, and the Lord said unto Joshua, Fear them not, etc. This assurance is evidently given to Joshua in answer to his prayer, ver. 12 (cf. *Annot. N.*). Rosenmüller, without cause, renders **וַיֹּאמֶר** in the pluperfect.

(G). **וַיָּבֹא אֵלֵיהֶם יְהוֹשֻׁעַ פְּתָאִם**, Joshua, therefore, came unto them suddenly. This version of the text does not appear to us to convey its true sense. **בֹּיָא** with **אֵל**, when applied to the enemy, assumes the meaning of 'to fall upon,' 'to attack.' **פְּתָאִם**, suddenly, further 'instantly,' 'straightways,' which latter we hold to be here the more appropriate rendering; because upon the assurance of the Lord that He had delivered the Amorites into Joshua's hand, 'Joshua attacked them straightways.' As already observed, this passage implies the most implicit confidence on the part of the Jewish leader, in the promise of victory given to him by Jehovah.

(H). **וַיַּעַל מִן הַגִּלְגָּל עָלָה**, and [he] went up from Gilgal all night, which, as compared with the preceding sentence, is plainly a most striking anachronism, the text reading commonly **עָלָה**, and requiring the English translator to supply the *copulative*. The LXX. render our verse: καὶ ἐπεὶ παρεγένετο Ἰησοῦς εἰς αὐτοὺς ἄφνω, ὅλην τὴν νύκτα εἰσέπορεύθη ἐκ Γαλιλάων. The natural construction of the passage can hardly, in our opinion, leave a doubt but that the verb **עָלָה** in it does not represent the third *pers. perfect*, but the *particip. act.*, and should consequently be pointed **עָלָה** (*script. defect.*); in another form, **עָלָה** (*script. plena*). The whole verse will then at once appear in its grammatical integrity, and the anachronism vanish.

(I). **בֵּית-חֶרֶן**, Βαιθώρων, Beth-horon. There were two places of this name, Upper and Lower Beth-horon (1 Chron., vii. 24), of which the former is here spoken of. They were situated at four hours' distance from each other, and divided by a narrow pass, named both 'the ascent to,' **מַעְלָה**, and (v. 11) 'the descent from,' **מִוֶּרֶד**, Beth-horon, ἀνάβασις καὶ κατάβασις Βαιθωρῶν (1 Maccab.

iii. 16, 24), and the road from which to Upper Beth-horon (cf. Robinson) was very difficult of access. Both places were situated somewhat to the north, between Emmaus (Nicomolis) and Jerusalem, about one hundred stadia distant from the latter city. (Josephus, *Wars*, ii. 12, 2; cf. *Ant.*, xx. 6, 4.)

(κ). עֲזָקָה, 'Αζκηά, *Azekah*, and מַכְדָּה, Μακηδα, *Makedah*, two small cities in the plain of Juda, whose exact position has not as yet been ascertained. The former was, according to Eusebius (*Onom.*), situated in an easterly direction, half-way between Jerusalem and Eleutheropolis, and which is in accordance with 1 Sam., xvii. 1. The latter is placed by Eusebius at a distance of eight Roman miles to the east of Eleutheropolis (cf. Von Raumer's *Palæst.*, p. 208), consequently in the vicinity of Keilah; but this has been thought irreconcilable with Josh. xv. 41, cf. 37-40.

(λ). אֲבָנִים גְּדֹלוֹת, *great stones*, described in the next sentence as אֲבָנֵי הַבָּרָד, by some translated 'hailstones,' by others, 'stones like hail,' both renderings being admissible in conformity with the rules of Hebrew grammar.* Much may be advanced in support of either interpretation. The real fact will probably never be ascertained; and as it is not of any material importance for us to know whether the Amorites were destroyed by masses of stone or by masses of ice, the question, perhaps, had better be left to the bias of individual judgment. For our own part, we strongly incline to the opinion that the sacred text alludes to one of those fearful hailstorms of not very unfrequent occurrence in the East, single stones of which have been found to weigh two pounds and upwards. The LXX. translate both times λίθους χαλάζης, and in the same sense our passage is interpreted by Jesus Sirach, xlv. 6, and Joseph, *Antiq.*, v. i. 17.

(μ). אָז *then*. Another meaning of the word is 'because,' and it is so translated in our version of the Bible (Jer. xxii. 15, etc.). We conceive the latter to be the proper construction in *this* place also, and for two reasons. Firstly, if אָז were here equivalent to 'then,' 'at that time,' it would render the following words בָּיִת וְנָתַתּוּ a pleonasm, which is evidently not their intended character; and secondly, it is (ver. 14) positively stated that never was prayer of man so graciously listened to by Jehovah as was

* Prof. Keil (*Commentar über das Buch Josua*, Erlangen, 1847), p. 176, objects to the latter interpretation, that אֲבָנֵי הַבָּרָד can grammatically be only rendered, *hailstones*. This is perfectly correct; but the learned professor overlooks that our text reads הַבָּרָד, and that the article may consequently be here construed according to its comparative property (cf. Gesenius, *Gram.* §. 107, anm. 1. a.)

the prayer of Joshua on this occasion, *because* the Lord himself fought for Israel; which proves both that Joshua prayed to God, not for power to work a miracle (the effects of which, had the battle been lost by the Israelites, must have proved as disastrous to them as, in the opposite case, to the Amorites), but *for His direct assistance*, and that God rendered this assistance *because* Joshua prayed to Him. Now ver. 14 being but the conclusion of an argumentative review of the events of the day, the above clearly demonstrates that when the sacred writer, after having (ver. 10, 11) described in what manner the Lord fought for Israel, adds *אז ונר*, these words must be rendered, *because* Joshua, on the day when the Lord delivered up the Amorites before the children of Israel

(N). *ידבר לדוד* spake to, i. e. 'communed with,' 'prayed to the Lord' (cf. Annot. M and O). The Chaldean translator renders *ידבר* he sang, *decantavit שבח*, which interpretation, solely on account of the poetical character of Joshua's address to the sun, has been adopted by the majority of the Jewish and the earlier Christian commentators. Corn. a Lapide explains it by *laudando Deum rogavit*. We always, however, hold the Bible to be the best interpreter of its own words.

(O). *ויאמר לעיני ישראל*, and he said in the sight of Israel. Having been engaged in private prayer to God, and received from Him the assurance of victory, Joshua wished to animate his followers with the same confidence, and consequently addressed to them a public harangue, of which the text probably gives but the concluding words. The above sentence is, therefore, to be regarded as the antitheton to that which forms the subject of our preceding annotation.^d Calvin appears to us to have seized the correct meaning of the whole of our passage: '*Ego vero non dubito*,' are his words, '*priore membro [tunc locutus est Jesus ad Dominum] notari precationem aut votum, altero autem [et dixit coram Israel] fiducia testimonium, postquam exauditus est. Soli enim mandare ut se sisteret, nisi impetrata venia, temerarium fuisset ac superbum.*'

(P). *והיה* stand thou still! The primitive meaning of *והיה* is, 'to be silent,' 'to remain listless,' 'to rest' (Gen. xxiv. 21; Levit. x. 3; Lam. ii. 18; Job xxx. 27, etc.); thence 'to wait,' 'to tarry,' 'to stand still' (1 Sam. xiv. 9, and in our passage). It

^d In our work, *Ueber den altjüdischen Kalender*, etc., Brussels, 1848, in which, whilst treating on the character of the old Jewish mid-day, we had occasion very briefly to touch upon the subject of the present inquiry, we inadvertently, in rendering, p. 42, the address of Joshua to the sun, connected the words *ויעני ישראל* with *שקשך בנגעון דום*.

has been contended that, to put the latter construction upon this term, there is not sufficient linguistical authority. Rabbi Esaias, in his *Comm. in Jos.*, explains דום by התאחר; and R. Levi Ben Gerson, as quoted by Abicht (*De Statione Solis*'), remarks ועד כי כבר יראה משפטי אלו. הדברים שלא נתבטל השמש מהתנועה ולא הירח חזר יתבאר מפנים מהם מה שנאי ולא אין לבוא רייל שלא מחד לבוא חזר לא ישלול ממנו התנועה אבל ישלול ממנו מהירי התנועה וכו'. 'From the text, moreover, it would appear that neither sun nor moon ceased to move, and this we conclude from the words—"and the sun hastened not to go down" (ver. 13), i. e. did not hurry his course. But this shows that the sun was not deprived of motion, but rather of accelerated motion.' A similar opinion is entertained by Mose ben Nachman and most other Jewish Rabbis, and in which also Prof. Keil shares. He maintains (*Comm.* p. 187) that Gesenius, who, in his *Thesaurus*, adduces the contrary testimony of Djeuhari (after Schedius) in quoting from it the words *دومت الشمس في كبد السماء* has mistaken their meaning, and that *دام* in Conjug. II. *دوم* is not here used, as he alleges, in the sense of *de sole in cælo subsistente*, but, according to Freytag (*Lex. Arab.* ii. 73), in that of *convertere se in cælo gyrumque agere*. He finds a further support to his view in the Chaldaic and Syriac translations, the former rendering the דום of our passage ארדי, the latter *حس* and he lays, with others, much stress on the difference between 'to tarry' and 'to stand still.' It is somewhat doubtful, it is true, which of these two meanings the ancient Hebrews connected with the verb דם, when applied to the sun (cf. *Annot.* v.); but, as to our passage, its poetical character would, in the first place, seem to us to demand the rendering 'to stand still;' and that, in the second place, this rendering is linguistically admissible, appears from the Book of Joshua itself: for, ch. x. v. 13, the verb עמד = 'to cease doing,' 'to arrest a peculiar course,' 'to stand still' (Gen. xxix. 35; xxx. 9; 1 Sam. xx. 38; Hab. iii. 11), 'to stand fast,' 'to remain immovable' (Ps. xxxiii. 9, 11, etc.), is used as a substitute for דם, and the identical meaning of both terms thereby clearly proved. Under any circumstances, we cannot look upon the above arguments—favourable though they be to our own view—except as mere contentions about words; for, as it is (v. 13) stated that the sun דם 'in the midst of heaven,' i. e. in his zenith, or 'over the

* In Hasaei et Ikenii *Thes. nov. Theol. Phil.*, tom. i., p. 474, seq.

† Hasaei et Ikenii *Thes. nov. Theol. Phil.*, tom. i., p. 516, seq.

head of all men' (cf. *Annot.* v.), it becomes a matter of little importance whether the sun took **כִּיּוֹם תָּמִים** 'about a whole day' 'ad convertendum se in cœlo gyrumque agendum,' or whether he 'tarried' or 'stood still' that time **בְּחֶצִי הַשָּׁמַיִם** 'in the midst of heaven.'

(q). **בְּעֶמֶק אֵילָן**, *in the valley of Ajalon*. This valley is no doubt to be looked for in the vicinity of the city of Ajalon, which Eusebius places at a distance of two Roman miles from Emmaus (Nicopolis), on the road to Jerusalem. Jerome, in *Epith. Paulæ*, c. iii., remarks: 'Atque Nicopoli proficiscens ascendit Beth-horon inferiorem et superiorem ad dextram aspiciens Ajalon et Gabaon, ubi Jesus filius Nave contra quinque reges dimicans soli imperavit et lunæ.' Its former site has, with great appearance of truth, been recognized by Robinson in the small village of **يالو** *Jalo*, and that of the valley of Ajalon in a northerly direction from the latter.

(r). **וַיָּדָם הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ וְיָרַח עָמָד**, *and the sun stood still, and the moon stayed*. It appears to us self-evident that these words, interrupting as they do the connection of Joshua's harangue, and leaving it but half finished, form a parenthesis; yet the striking truth of this remark (cf. also our observ. p. 5) would seem to have altogether escaped the notice of commentators. In all probability the words of our parenthesis, when sung, formed the response of the *chorus* to the preceding *solo*.

(s). **עַד יִקְוָם גַּם אֹיְבָיו**, *until the people had avenged themselves upon their enemies*. The imperfect tense of the Hebrew verb, frequently serving to express the *future* as well as the *perfect*, both which powers it here combines, it is impossible to do full justice to the text in an English translation. With reference to the parenthesis, the former should be rendered as above; with reference to the whole period, 'until the people *shall have avenged themselves* upon their enemies.' To obviate this difficulty, we might translate:—

[Solo.] Sun, stand thou still over Gibeon,
And thou, moon, over Ajalon's vale
[Chorus.] —And the sun stood still, the moon stayed—
[Solo.] For the people
To avenge themselves upon Israel's foes!

But the passing over **עַד** is inadmissible. The import of the concluding sentence must, therefore, in the English translation, be supplied as an ellipsis to our parenthesis.

(t).

(T). הֲלֹא־הָיָא כְּתוּבָה עַל־סֵפֶר הַיָּשָׁר, *is not this written in the book of Jasher?* By the more modern biblical expositors it has almost unanimously been acknowledged that הַיָּשָׁר *hajashar*, here denotes *the true Theocrates*, and that the lost סֵפֶר הַיָּשָׁר, another fragment from which is preserved in the second book of Samuel, i. 18, contained a collection of national songs in praise of theocratical heroes. The various and sometimes strange opinions on this book (which the *Peshito* also, confirmatory of the character just assigned to it, once names *liber hymnorum*) have been most fully collected by Wolf, *Bibl. Hebr.*, ii. p. 219, seq.

Several commentators have been of opinion, that the whole passage, v. 12-15, is a literal quotation from the Sepher Hajashar. The reasons adduced are : 1. *the natural connection between v. 11 and 16.* It is quite true that the sacred writer resumes, v. 16, the general thread of his historical narrative, broken off at the beginning of v. 12 ; but surely this is no proof that the intervening episode, which he introduces, must of necessity be a quotation, much less one from a *different* author. 2. *The words, occurring in the twelfth verse: 'when the Lord delivered up the Amorites before the children of Israel.'* The validity of this ground, extremely feeble of itself, has already been disproved by our preceding explanations. 3. *The contents of v. 15, which,* it is objected, *cannot possibly have been inserted in their place by the author of the Book of Joshua.* As they stand, evidently not. But granting our author had merely quoted them ; yet he would wittingly have quoted an error, and that is out of the question.

We have already pointed out those portions of verses 12 and 13, which we consider the quotation from the Sepher Hajashar to comprise. Our reasons in favour of this, and against the former view, are threefold. 1. The sacred annalist himself, by the words, '*But in the sight of Israel he said,*' which are the first to interrupt the thread of his general narrative, distinctly marks the commencement, and by the words '*is it not thus written in the book of Jasher?*' as distinctly the end of the quotation. 2. The latter is taken from a collection of *songs*, and the rhythmical verses to which we allude, form the only poetical portion of our prose narrative. 3. If v. 15, which, in positive contradiction with the following relation, implies Joshua's return to the camp at Gilgal immediately after his victory at Gibeon, were to be admitted as a proof against the clear evidence of the following text, it would be admitting an error to testify against and overcome truth. Independently, however, of the inspired character of the Bible, can it for one moment be supposed, that a historical writer should ap-
provingly,

provingly, and, as far as regards verse 15 *unnecessarily*, quote a passage from another work, and immediately after, without offering the least explanation, contradict the same? On the other hand, if we take verse 15, as it stands, to form a genuine and integral part of the Book of Joshua, we should place its author in contradiction with *himself*.

There are two suppositions, both almost equally acceptable, by which, in our judgment, the difficulty may be met. Either the entire v. 15 is a reproduction of v. 43, inserted by some mistake of the copyist, and to which the corresponding conclusion of the v. 14 and 42 might have given rise; or from a similar error the name of Gilgal in our verse has been substituted for that of Makkedah. Our readers being probably more or less acquainted with the history and the condition of the text of the Book of Joshua, we need not state how easily such a circumstance is here accounted for. The latter supposition is supported by the *Cod. Alex. and Vatic.* of the LXX., in which our verse is wanting; the former by the progress of our narrative itself, and therefore it may, perhaps, be considered as the more probable of the two. From v. 17, cf. 18 seq., and 21, 22 seq., it admits of no doubt that Joshua, after having completed the total defeat of the enemy, led the main body of his army against Makkedah, and that, whilst the rest of his troops were ordered to follow up the pursuit of the Amorites, that city was taken and destroyed by him (v. 28). If we therefore translate v. 15 and 16 thus: *And Joshua with the main army of the Israelites*, [that בְּלִישָׁרָאֵל may be so rendered is clearly proved by Exod. ix. 6, cf. 19 seq.,] *turned back for encampment at Makkedah*, [cf. for this construction put upon וַיָּשָׁב אֶל וְנָר, Gesenius, *Wörterb.* art. אֶל A. No. 7]. *But those* [cf. Isaiah xlix. 12,] *five kings had fled and hid themselves in a cave at Makkedah*, etc., the harmony of the entire narrative will be restored.

(u). בְּיוֹם הַיּוֹם, *about a whole day*. The essential property of the Hebrew particle בְּ is comparative, expressive of what a thing appears or seems to be, e. g. כְּמַרְאֵה אָדָם, SOMETHING LIKE the figure of a man (Dan. x. 18); בְּיוֹם הַהוּא, LIKE UNTO this day (in our very passage Josh. x. 14); בְּהִנֵּף שִׁבְטָאֶת מְרִימֵי בְּהָרִים; כַּמָּטָה לֹא עָזָה, AS IF the rod should shake (itself) against them that lift it up (or) AS IF the staff should lift itself up (as if it were) no wood (Isaiah x. 15); כְּאַחַת עָרֵי הַמְּלָכָה, [like unto, as it were,] T SEEMED one of the royal cities (Josh. x. 2), and in numerous other

other places. We have therefore the fullest authority for rendering the words of our text (*as it were*, or *as if*, or) **IT SEEMED A WHOLE DAY**. Yet undeniable as is the admissibility of this translation, there is in the saying, 'The sun hastened not to go down, it seemed a whole day,' something obscure or rather strange, which would appear to require an explanation.

In the Talmud (*Gem. tr. Pesach. 5, 3*) the following remarkable passage occurs : מנחה גדלה והתחלת זמן תמיד שלבין הערבים מבי מתחיל להעריב והיינו מהצי שבהע ולמעלה והא הצי שש וצי שבע חמה עומדת בראש כל אדם וקודרת כנגדה למטה ואינה נוטה לשום צד ומצי שבע ולמעלה נוטה בריקע למערב : which as comp. with Josh. x. 13, and literally translated, reads thus :

Joshua x. 13.—*So the sun stood still in the midst of heaven, and hastened not to go down, it seemed a whole day.* *'From the half-past sixth till the half-past seventh [Jewish] hour [from about 11½ to 12½ o'clock, according to our mode of reckoning] the sun stands still over the head of all men, throwing his shadow straightforward down before him, and inclining to neither side; but after the half-past seventh hour he declines in the heavens towards evening.'* Here we have

the solution of our last remaining scruple; for knowing that, according to the view of the ancient Hebrews—a view evidently reflected in the passage of Joshua—the sun every day 'tarried' or 'stood still' in the midst of heaven for the space of about one hour, that passage no longer presents any difficulty; but, in connection with the preceding explanations, at once assumes a perfectly clear and intelligible meaning.

If we inquire what can possibly have given rise to so singular a view, we are to bear in mind that the most common time-keeper in those days was a very imperfect description of sun-dial, consisting of a horizontal disk, with a *short* pole in its centre, and the *length* of whose shadow served to indicate the twelve divisions of the day. In the morning, therefore, the sun seemed to *ascend* in the heavens more quickly, 'as a bridegroom coming out of his chamber, and rejoicing as a *strong man* to run a race' (Ps. xix. 5); but, as his strength diminished, gradually to slacken his pace, until, having reached the summit of his course, when the more or less perpendicular shadow of the pole did not perceptibly move, he appeared to rest for about an hour, and then, in his *descent*, to 'hasten' again, at an increasing rate, towards 'evening.'

(v). *לשמע יְהוָה בְּקוֹל אִישׁ* that the Lord hearkened unto the voice of a man. These words do not altogether convey the true import of the text, which is, that never did God so graciously listen to prayer of man as He did on that day to the prayer of Joshua; for
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He Himself (through the hailstorm) fought for Israel. ה should here evidently be taken in the sense of 'in regard to,' 'as to' (cf. Gesenius, *Wörterb.*, art. ה, A. No. 6).

Having thus illustrated the most essential parts of our text, we shall be able to give a correct translation of it, which, in following as closely as possible the Authorized Version, may be rendered as follows:—

Ver. 6. And the men of Gibeon sent unto Joshua to the camp at Gilgal, saying, Slack not thy hand from thy servants; come up to us quickly, save us, help us: for all the kings of the Amorites that dwell in the mountains are gathered together against us.

7. So Joshua broke up from Gilgal, he and all the people of war with him, and all the mighty men of valour.

8. And the Lord said unto Joshua, Fear them not; for not a man of them, they being delivered into thine hand, shall stand before thee.

9. Joshua, therefore, having marched up from Gilgal all night, attacked them straightways.

10. And the Lord discomfited them before Israel, and slew them with a great slaughter at Gibeon, and chased them along the way that goeth up to Beth-horon, and smote them to Azekah, and unto Makkedah.

11. And it came to pass as they fled from before Israel, in the way that goeth down from Beth-horon, that the Lord cast down great stones from heaven upon them as far as Azekah, and they perished: they were more which perished by the hail-stones than they whom the children of Israel slew with the sword; because Joshua, on the day when the Lord delivered up the Amorites before the children of Israel, had prayed to the Lord.

12. But in the sight of Israel he said:

Sun, stand thou still over Gibeon,

And thou, moon, over Ajalon's vale

—And the sun stood still, the moon stayed—

Until the people

Shall have avenged themselves upon Israel's foes!

Is it not thus written in the Sepher Hajashar?

13. So the sun stood still in the midst of heaven, and hasted not to go down, it seemed a whole day.

14. And there has been no day like *unto* that, either before it or after it, as to the Lord's hearkening unto the voice of man; for the Lord himself fought for Israel.

The succession of events here related is consequently this:—When the Gibeonites, simultaneously attacked by five of the most powerful chiefs of the Amorites, sent for protection and assistance to Joshua, whose camp was at Gilgal, he, perceiving the importance of the juncture, at once resolved to march to the succour of his allies. On the same day on which the message had reached him,

him, he broke up from Gilgal with his whole army, and, after a forced march continued throughout the night, took up a position, probably to the north of Gibeon, on the following morning. His forces (or troops) naturally required some rest. Towards midday they were prepared to do battle, and their leader, after having been engaged in private prayer to God, and received from Him the assurance of victory, then addressed his army to animate them with the same confidence. He had, most likely with the view of surprising the enemy, chosen the hottest part of the day for the attack. The sun was standing nearly in his zenith; the moon, about to set, was still visible in a south-easterly direction, over the valley of Ajalon; and pointing to those two glorious luminaries, 'they shall not decline in the heavens,' he concluded his harangue to his companions, 'until they shall have witnessed our triumph.' Such is the evident meaning of his celebrated words, which, we must remember, have come down to us only in the language of the poet. But even he does not make Joshua command the sun to *stand still*, which would have been a most useless command, since, according to the then common opinion, the sun was about to stand still *in the usual course of things*; but to stand still *until the Hebrew army should have defeated the enemy*. Nor was the promise of Joshua held out in vain; the sudden and irresistible attack of the Israelites during midday at once decided the contest, in so incredibly short a time, it appears to the narrator, as if the sun, instead of an hour, had 'tarried in the midst of heaven' a whole day; and before he 'declined towards evening,' the forces of the enemy were completely routed. During their flight they were, in the narrow pass leading down from Upper Bethhoron, overtaken by a fearful hail-storm, and almost annihilated. The pursuit, however, was kept up with vigour beyond Azekah and Makkedah, at which latter place the Jewish leader, after having taken and destroyed it, encamped. Then the five kings of the Amorites, who, in the meantime, and whilst the remnant of their scattered forces were driven back into their fenced cities, had been discovered and kept secure in a cave in the vicinity of the camp, were brought out unto Joshua, and 'he smote them, and slew them, and hanged them on five trees; and they were hanging upon the trees until the evening' (v. 26).

The setting sun of that day had witnessed no other miracle, save those countless miracles, creations of the Eternal One, which crowd around us from morning till night every day, in every shape and in every form, the greatest not more incomprehensible than the least, and higher objects than which for wonder, and admiration, and love, and gratitude, man could never wish to contemplate, unless his heart were hardened and his mind shut.

SUGGESTIONS

SUGGESTIONS FOR A CRITICAL EDITION OF THE HEBREW BIBLE.

By the Rev. HENRY BURGESS.

It requires only a slight acquaintance with the literature of the sacred Scriptures to perceive the disproportionate attention bestowed on the New over the Old Testament. This is more the case in England than on the Continent, where Hebrew learning has certainly received a larger measure of critical skill; yet even with this limitation, the proposition is still generally true, nor are the causes of the preference difficult to discover. It may be advantageous to glance at them, as they will develop more clearly the importance of the undertaking which this article is intended to originate and to recommend.

The almost universal study of the Greek language as an element of polite education is the *first* cause to which the vast critical apparatus of the New Testament is to be attributed. Important as the Semitic dialects are to sacred learning and to our intercourse with many nations of the East, they are rarely taught in schools, and are seldom made a part of the education of gentlemen. Nothing will more clearly exhibit this fact than the difficulty which is found in obtaining correct typographical quotations in any of the Oriental languages connected with Biblical learning. A Greek compositor or reader is common enough, to furnish our printed literature with tolerably exact specimens of that language; but how rarely are we gratified with the scholar-like execution of Hebrew, Syriac, Arabic, or Ethiopic typography. Many first-rate classical scholars are ignorant of even the letters of those interesting languages; and the confession of the amiable and learned Archdeacon Wrangham would, without doubt, be that of many men who stand high in the republic of letters. He says, in his Preface to his edition of Walton's *Prolegomena*, 'De meipso tandem si vel tantillulum eloqui liceat, vix affirmare audeo (quod de se Reverendissimus Marshius asserit) posse me, Lexicorum ope adjutum, linguam Hebraicam Persicamque quadantenus interpretari. Alia nempè studia Cantabrigiæ degenti mihi commendabantur, quæ nec gravatè suscepi nec, si verbo sit venia, infeliciter omninò prosecutus sum.' If such is the state of the case, it is not to be wondered at that the New Testament, which is enshrined in Greek, should have more votaries than the Old, which is hidden
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in the cloistral archives of a more recondite learning. Whether the explication of divine truth is undertaken as a pleasure or a duty, most men find themselves more competent to grapple with the Greek than with the Hebrew text, for how very few have complied, in reference to Oriental learning, with the classical advice—

‘ ————— vos exemplaria Græca
Nocturnâ versate manu, versate diurnâ.’

A *second* cause is the greater difficulty attending the prosecution of the study of those Oriental languages which throw light on the sacred treasures of the Old Testament. An empirical fashion has prevailed of stating that the Hebrew language may be learned in a few months, and some have even been kind enough to promise to lead their disciples into all its intricacies in as many weeks; but, like quack medicines when taken to work wonders in the bodily health, such recipes have failed of their purpose, except so far as, in both cases, the subjects of such advice may fancy that the promised effects have been realized by them. Because the *copia verborum* of the Hebrew Bible is necessarily limited, on account of the fewness of the documents extant in that language, it has been imagined that to commit a few thousand words to memory is to master the difficulty. It has been forgotten that the more confined the literature of a language is, the more inexplicable it becomes, and that a paucity of words is not identical with a plain and obvious meaning. The ἀπαξ λεγόμενα of the Hebrew Bible may form no serious obstacle to a student who is content to find meanings in versions or lexicons, but if he wishes to be philologically exact, they become formidable opponents. To elucidate and establish the meaning of words which occur only once or twice, it is necessary not to consult a translation, but to pierce into the recesses of some cognate dialect. This fact, combined with the entirely different inflection and syntax of the Semitic tongues from those of the West, with which our scholars are more conversant, has made proficients in Hebrew more rare than those of the Greek language.

A *third* cause is suggested, which, although not so obvious, is believed to have much to do with the preference in question: it is the prevalence of theological and ecclesiastical controversies, requiring, for their being properly grappled with, a fuller acquaintance with the New than with the Old Testament. Conventionally, the latter has been thrown into the shade compared with the former; with how much reason will appear to those who know that divine revelation is one, and can only be properly considered as a whole. Because the sun is more useful, *popularly*, than the planets of our system, or than the stars, it may be allowed to

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second-rate thinkers to exalt its merits, and pass over the claims of its more retiring companions. But a more scientific observer will think less of the splendour, and be sensible of the relative importance of the lesser lights to the vast system of which they form a part. In a sound state of Biblical learning, such as we believe is becoming daily more common, such a preference will cease to exist; but as long as it prevails, the Greek literature will have an advantage over the Oriental, will be studied by a greater number of persons, and more assiduously.

These causes, with others which might be mentioned, have resulted in the fact, that up to this time no such critical edition of the Hebrew Bible has been published in this country, as those of Valpy and Bloomfield, for instance, of the New Testament. The English Biblical student cannot find ready to his hand any commentary which can direct his studies of the Old Testament in its ancient and genuine documents, and is consequently obliged to have recourse to many scattered sources of information, such as the *Scholia* of Rosenmüller and the critical works of Dathe. Without giving any opinion of the merits of Bloomfield's *Commentary on the Greek Testament*, we will take that as an illustration of the kind of work we wish to see on the Hebrew Bible. This laborious compilation contains in two octavo volumes a mass of sacred literature derived from various authors, as well as much original matter, the whole being illustrative of the Greek text. Suppose we make four volumes, in larger octavo, the *maximum* of the edition we propose, we will then inquire what can be done in such a space, and throw out some suggestions as to the best mode of conducting the performance. If the work should be allowed to swell beyond these proportions, it would become inconvenient for easy reference, and too expensive for general use.

Of the proposed four volumes the text should be printed in such a type as to occupy a space equivalent to one-fourth, thus leaving three-fourths of every page, on an average, for the critical notes. An immense body of information could be comprised within these limits, if a diffuse style and rounded periods were avoided. About one hundred pages of the first volume might be devoted to Prolegomena, comprising a translation and an abstract of Walton, with such subsidiary matter as more recent criticism has supplied, especially in reference to the state of the text. This part of the work would demand extensive erudition, a sympathy with the wants of Biblical students, and great sagacity in the selection of materials. Labour should not be spared in framing some indices, a department of book-making sadly neglected in England. An index of matters in general, and another of Hebrew words and phrases explained in the notes, should, *at least*, be supplied. If
this

this suggested edition of the Hebrew Bible is made what we wish it to become, expense should not be spared wherever utility is to be attained. A work which will be acceptable to Biblical students of every class may be reasonably expected to defray all that can be laid out in its execution. We have given some attention to the subject, and made calculations, and we believe that four large octavos would be amply sufficient for a critical work of the highest character.

In the execution of this plan, the first thing demanding our attention is the text, which the critical apparatus of the work is to illustrate. In editions of the New Testament learned men have often compiled a text of their own, as in the case of Griesbach, Scholz, and Tischendorf; but with regard to the Hebrew Bible this has not been done, as far as our knowledge extends, since the time of Van der Hooght, and even his attention was rather given to produce an edition *ad fidem recensitionis Masoreticæ* than to form a more perfect text by means of manuscripts. Dr. Kennicott's Bible appeared in 1780, the text being that of Van der Hooght without points, its only object being to display the vast collection of various readings discovered by that indefatigable scholar. An edition of the Hebrew Bible, with all the important readings of Kennicott and De Rossi, was published at Leipsic, in 1793, by Doederlein and Meisner, and from its compressed form is invaluable to students. But no attempt has yet been made to bring the various readings to bear on a reconstruction of the text, nor have they yet been submitted to that careful analysis by which those of the Greek Testament have become so available. Until all existing manuscripts shall have been collated, it is far better to have one *textus receptus*, to which all critical discoveries can be applied, than twenty or thirty various recensions, often exhibiting the conflicting opinions and principles of their various authors. When the proper time arrives, the results of the highest criticism may be applied to the formation of a text as correct as possible, but at present we prefer recommending the adoption of Van der Hooght, as being on the whole most correct, and also as the standard to which learned men almost universally refer. This text must be printed with the most scrupulous exactness, the edition published by Van der Hooght himself being the copy employed to print from. No pains should be spared to purge away former typographical errors, and to prevent the introduction of fresh ones.

But although the text is to remain unaltered, the Biblical student must be put in possession of all existing helps to form a judgment as to its probable integrity or spuriousness in doubtful cases. The various readings already furnished must be intrusted

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to a discerning hand, and all that can alter the sense or the grammatical construction conscientiously inserted. It is evident this is a task requiring no common abilities, for it is not always easy to say whether a various reading is of importance or not. Even when a correction purely orthographical, and not in the least affecting the sense, may be useless in a given case, it may become important by illustrating some other passage in which a fact or a doctrine is concerned. Whoever may undertake this part of the work must have fixed principles of rejection and admission, and these must be stated in the prolegomena, that the student may know to what he is trusting. Thus selected, the various readings should be printed immediately below the text, yet not so as to be confounded with the Masoretic notes. A line dividing those notes from the text, and another marking the boundary of the various readings, will add much to perspicuity, and be thankfully received by the scholar. The marks or signs by which the various readings are connected with the passages to which they refer must be very explicit and conspicuous, and on this subject the experience of printers of established reputation may be consulted. In the edition of Doederlein small italic letters are employed, and great distinctness is secured.

The use to be made of the ancient versions next demands attention. As it is to be desired that the Hebrew text should be compared thoroughly with those versions which it is proposed to employ, a selection of the most important is necessary, and we think the Targums, the Syriac, the Greek, and the Latin versions, must form the boundary, on account of the great difficulty and expense which would attend a careful comparison if extended to the Ethiopic and Arabic. Where those or other versions of critical value have been employed by former commentators, their aid may be borrowed in important passages; but this edition would have a higher value if the four sources of interpretation just mentioned are collated *de novo*. Wherever light is thrown on the text by these versions, or when they differ from it, they must be quoted in their own characters, and the advantage of a Polyglott will in this way be afforded without its expensiveness, and with the benefit of having important differences clearly indicated. These versional interpretations will be admitted *first* in the notes, unless in those cases in which the editors have any observations to make on the state of the text, compared with its various readings. Where the versions are widely different from the Hebrew, suggestions as to the cause of the discrepancy will be valuable, in the manner exhibited by Schleusner in his *Lexicon of the Septuagint*. Some of these variations indicate probable corruptions of the Hebrew text, and should be noted in the hope that the collation of manuscripts

scripts may some day confirm the conjecture or show its incorrectness.

Grammatical observations deduced from the works of the most recent philosophical writers on that subject, as Gesenius and Ewald, may be introduced with good effect. The same remark will apply to lexicography, which we would make an important feature of the suggested undertaking. The meanings given by Gesenius or Fürst to words occurring only once or twice, if inserted in the notes will save time, by rendering the consultation of those authors unnecessary. By the way, all such words of unusual occurrence should be noted as they are met with. Oriental customs illustrative of Hebrew words and phrases must be briefly alluded to, and beyond this we would not allow miscellaneous observations to proceed. The work should be a *critical edition* of the Hebrew Bible, and not an exposition of its inspired contents. The fulfilment of prophecy or the doctrinal bearings of various passages we would leave out of sight altogether, as well as all pious reflections, which we presume the student can best supply for himself. We wish the undertaking to be a help to the proper understanding of the text, as an affair of philology, not as one of divinity. Divine revelation is the temple to which the text conducts as a porch, and it is the right way of attaining to the entrance which we desire to point out. We presume that those who labour to attain so much as we wish to present to them will not stop here, but will use their knowledge to assist in the promotion of their own piety and the happiness of their fellow-men.

In addition to the materials already noticed, some minor matters may receive attention without increasing the size of the work. Chronology, showing the variations of the Hebrew text and the versions, may occupy a niche at the top of the page; and some divisions, more philosophical than that of chapters, may throw the text into paragraphs. The margin should be available for references to illustrative passages, and, by proper discrimination, immense aid may be furnished in this way to the student. Marginal references in a critical edition of the Scriptures should not point to similar events and analogous doctrines, but to words peculiarly used, and to grammatical constructions of an anomalous character. The passages quoted from the Hebrew Bible in Gesenius's *Lexicon* are generally such as throw light on the meaning of the word under which they are found. Such references, thrown into the margin of the work now proposed, will be highly useful, and the reader will be sure to consult them when he finds that each one is explanatory of the text. We believe that we have now embodied in this essay our ideas of what is wanting in this department of sacred literature, and if anything like it could be brought to a completion,

completion, a favour of no ordinary kind would be conferred upon all Biblical scholars, especially those who are not far advanced in their interesting studies. Such of us as have had to furnish ourselves with the critical helps which we propose to present in readiness for those who will come after us, are deeply sensible of the desirableness of shortening, as much as possible, the ways which lead to sound Biblical learning, and the critical edition of the Hebrew Scriptures suggested in this paper will accomplish that purpose to a great extent.

Perhaps such a scheme as we have presented may be considered Utopian, and thrown aside as impracticable; but it is asked respectfully in what the insuperable difficulties consist? Two sorts of aid are needed, that of Biblical learning and that of pecuniary resources. For *one* man to attempt and to carry through such an undertaking, would still leave him far behind the Biblical scholars who have laboured for us in former years, such as Walton, Leusden, Michaelis, and Schleusner. But by co-operation the work would be comparatively easy, and, under one editor, the labours of many learned men might be secured, without breaking in upon the continuity and harmony of the whole. One might collate the Syriac, another the Septuagint version; one might write the prolegomena, and another the notes; while a fifth could grapple with the various readings. As to the pecuniary question, that may be left to those enterprising booksellers our country can furnish, some of whom are not backward in patronizing attempts which can be shown to afford the promise of ultimate, even though distant, remuneration. In several London printing-offices all the types necessary for such an undertaking are ready furnished, and we long to see them occupied on some work of a truly national character, or rather, on one which will be acceptable wherever Sacred Literature is valued.

MISCELLANEA.

THE 'DAYS' OF CREATION.

BY WILLIAM M'COMBIE.

THE Mosaic account of creation, viewed in relation to modern geological discovery, is a subject which has given rise to much discussion, and it must continue to be one of considerable interest even to persons who view the Scriptures as not at all intended to teach scientific truth. For here there seems to be involved not merely a question of science, but one of fact. Both in the first chapter of Genesis and in the fourth commandment God is represented as in the space of 'six days' bringing the visible universe, if not from absolute non-existence, at least from a state of chaos, into its present condition of order and beauty. Almost all who are competent to form an opinion on the subject are now agreed that periods altogether out of proportion to such a number of natural days must have been embraced in the progress of the works there narrated. Are we then shut up to the conclusion unhesitatingly avowed by a writer well known to the readers of your Journal,* that there exist 'palpable contradictions between the language adopted in the Old Testament, and in the delivery of the Jewish law, and the existing evidences of the order of creation?' Assuming for a moment the duration of the periods designated 'days' to be still an open question, I should like to see some of your contributors who are the most versant in geological inquiries bringing the stores of their knowledge to bear on the question, whether there really are contradictions in regard to the *order* of creation between the Mosaic account, and the monuments of its progress found embedded in the earth's crust? or, whether we are not warranted rather to regard the account in question as a hasty sketch expressed in language accordant with the notions of cosmogony then prevalent, yet substantially, and for all the purposes of the document, correct? It must not be hastily, or without the maturest inquiry and discussion, assumed, that we are held precluded from this conclusion, for then we must be reduced to regard the Mosaic account either

* The Rev. Baden Powell, in his *Connexion of Natural and Divine Truth*, pp. 266, 267.

as a mere myth, or as the worthless embodiment of a popular tradition, either of which would seem sufficiently incongruous and unaccountable, as found placed at the opening of a tract which professes to narrate historically the leading events and transactions of the first three thousand years or so of human existence.

That the question as to the length of the periods designated 'days' is yet an open one, or that we are not shut up to the conclusion that these periods necessarily embraced only the length of natural days, we would beg to suggest the following considerations. If they are of any weight, let them stimulate inquiry; if merely whimsical, let them be disregarded.

And first, the term 'day' is by no means restricted in Scripture any more than it is in popular language still, to designate merely the twenty-four hours. Besides the uniform use of 'days' in prophecy to represent years in the fulfilment, we find it frequently used to express indefinite periods, as 'Now is the *day* of salvation,' 'If thou hadst known, even thou at least in this thy *day*,' &c. Then, creation is uniformly represented in Scripture as the unconstrained and voluntary work of God; and in harmony with this, the main object of the Mosaic account may be expected to be found, the presenting to our view of this work under the aspect of its revelation to him. Now under that aspect the predicating of extreme duration is absurd, for the voice of philosophy combines with the announcements of Scripture in declaring that 'one day is with the Lord as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one *day*.' In regard to man, the leading impressions intended to be given evidently being that creation was the work of the 'One living God,' and that it was spontaneous and progressive work, the time occupied by it—if time was predicable at all previous to the existence of rational and progressive natures—was of very secondary importance.

And then the mode of reckoning by the 'evening and the morning' would quite harmonise with each 'day' standing for a cosmogonic era, its evening representing the close of one majestic epoch, and its morning the opening of another. If we might speak in accommodation to the impressions of our limited and progressive nature, such would have been 'days' bearing some faint relation to the vast cycle of the 'years of the Most High.' But there appears to us to be a yet stronger aspect of the case: for is it not equally true of every natural day that has elapsed since the completion of the visible creation, as it was of the first which succeeded that completion, that in it God has rested? The work of creation on our globe has never been resumed. The rest on the part of God, in the sense in which it ever was a rest, has run on unbroken. When man was created the pyramid of terrene
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being was brought to its apex. God ceased to bring new classes, or even new species, of beings into existence; he ceased 'from his works,'—he entered on the symbolic 'day' of Sabbath rest—a day which may yet have long to run.

We are aware of the objection which lies against all this, that the impression which the language is obviously adapted to give is that of natural days, and that it was so understood by all mankind till within the last fifty years. Considered metaphysically, and in relation to the Divine existence, this impression may even be shown to be more just than that of myriads of ages; but considered physically, and with relation to our experience and consciousness, it is otherwise. Let the objection under this aspect be allowed its full force, and let it be weighed against the difficulties which beset other theories. Difficulties always stimulate the search for truth in inquiring minds.

These loose hints are not put forth as findings, but merely as suggestive, and with the hope of stimulating those best qualified for the discussion of the interesting questions the subject involves.

ON THE BAPTISM OF FIRE.

By the Rev. CHARLES HOLE, B.A.

'He shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost and with Fire.'

Luke iii. 17; Matt. iii. 11.

I HAVE ventured to trespass upon your attention with a few remarks (the substance of which I have had by me some time) on the above text, discussed in the last Number of your valuable Journal; and presuming, as I do, to entertain objections to the interpretation there offered, I thought the statement of a different view might elicit something further on the subject.

The context in Matthew is as follows,—'Now also the ax is laid unto the root of the trees; therefore every tree which bringeth not forth good fruit is hewn down and cast into the fire. I indeed baptize you with water unto repentance; but he that cometh after me is mightier than I, whose shoes I am not worthy to bear; he shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost and with fire; whose fan is in his hand, and he will thoroughly purge his floor, and gather his wheat into the garner; but he will burn up the chaff with unquenchable fire.'

The words of the Baptist are referred to in two other places;

once by our Lord to his disciples, just before his ascension, alluding evidently to the Pentecostal effusion—'John truly baptized with water, but ye shall be baptized with the Holy Ghost not many days hence' (Acts i.) And again by Peter, in Acts xi., giving an account of his interview with Cornelius and his companions,—'As I began to speak, the Holy Ghost fell on them, as on us at the beginning. Then remembered I the word of the Lord, how that he said, John indeed baptized with water, but ye shall be baptized with the Holy Ghost.'

Now observe, in these two passages in the Acts, the words of John, 'and with fire,' are not quoted with the rest of the sentence, although two (Matthew and Luke) out of the four Evangelists record them from the Baptist's preaching. Does not this of itself afford a tolerably fair presumption to set out with, that the 'fire' was not to be identified or interchanged with the Holy Ghost, but that it was to be distinguished from it? I think this is strengthened by the consideration that the baptism of which John spoke had not *exclusive* reference to the apostles, on whom the fiery symbols of the Spirit fell at Pentecost: for John was addressing not them exclusively, but the multitude at large that was flocking around him; and Peter, too, connected the words of John, as quoted by Jesus, with the descent of the Holy Spirit long after the Pentecostal effusion, and on other persons than the twelve, and without the fiery appearances. If the words in question did refer exclusively to that day, it would certainly be easier than to suppose 'Holy Ghost' and 'fire' to be only an hendiadys.

I humbly submit that by 'fire' is denoted something quite distinct from, and wholly different to, the Holy Ghost; that, in fact, it means the fiery baptism of judgment, and for these reasons.

The general tone of the preacher was rebuke and warning. See how he connects the ushering in of the kingdom of Christ, who was 'set for the fall and rising of many in Israel,' with wrath and judgment—'O generation of vipers! who hath warned you to flee from the *wrath to come*?' And so he goes on, noticing the two classes of godly and ungodly, the reward of the one and the doom of the other—the tree that bringeth forth good fruit (by inference), and that which bringeth not forth good fruit, at whose root the axe is now laid that it may be hewn down, and *cast into the fire* (Matt. iii. 10)—the baptism of the Holy Ghost, and the *baptism of fire* (v. 11)—the wheat to be gathered into the garner, and the chaff to be burnt with *unquenchable fire* (v. 12). It is not a little striking that *fire* should enter into his expression every time; and I cannot resist the conclusion that judgment is intended in the second instance as well as in the first and third.

What this judgment was of which fire was the symbol, it is not

not material to the present inquiry to determine. Perhaps the destruction of the city was referred to. Or it might be the punishment of hell, which was thus brought forward, not because it had not been always as true as 'now,' that the 'wicked shall be turned into hell;' but that this should now be more distinctly and prominently brought forward, to accompany so distinct a manifestation of the grace and love of God in the coming of the Son; that justice should be clearly seen to walk hand in hand with mercy; that the obstinacy of rejectors might appear the more damning by the side of such transcendent love.

It is with some diffidence I offer a few remarks upon the idiomatic view of the question, especially as regards the language of the Old Testament. But it seems to me that the examples quoted, to be in point, must show the identity, or at any rate the apposition, of the substantives on either side the copula. For instance, if 'brimstone and fire' mean 'ignited brimstone,' this cannot be parallel to 'Holy Ghost and fire' (reverence forbids giving the corresponding turn to this expression). And so in all the passages (except the first and last, which will be noticed presently) quoted; one of the substantives *qualifies* the other. Now clearly 'fire' cannot *qualify* 'Holy Ghost;' nor can it be replied that 'Holy Ghost' or 'Spirit' may yet qualify 'fire,' as 'spiritual fire.' For it is the last noun that must qualify the first, not the first the last; as, in fact, it is admitted—'ignited brimstone,' 'righteous judgment,' &c. But if, again, it be replied that the expression means, 'Holy Ghost, acting after the analogy of fire, as fire, or resembling fire;' here we have fire *defining* not *qualifying*, and consequently the alleged examples become useless. But that the first and last examples are different to the others, showing how one substantive defines and limits the others, I admit. 'Ministry and apostleship.' Here ministry means apostleship, and conversely; the one defines and limits the other more general term. And in the other, 'An ass and a colt the foal of an ass,' it is still more strikingly the case; one defines the indefinite other. Accordingly the 'and' perhaps would be better rendered '*even*' or '*namely*,' 'ministry, namely apostleship;' 'an ass, namely a colt the foal of an ass.'

These, then, are the only two examples of those alleged that have, in my humble opinion, any weight in the present inquiry. Nor, in fact, does this idiom appear to be at all common. Simonis remarks on the word γ, 'Aliquanto rarius voci, in quâ nonnisi *appositionis* vis inest, additur;' as 1 Sam. xxviii. 3, 'They buried him in Rama, even (?) in his own city.' And in the New Testament I think the idiom is limited (besides the passage of Zechariah already

mentioned) to that expression, not unfrequent certainly, 'God and our Father,' 'God and our Saviour,' *i. e.* 'God even our Father,' &c.

But though we have these undoubted examples of 'and' implying apposition or definition, still I feel a difficulty in admitting it in this sense in the disputed passage: for, as remarked above of qualifying, in all these cases it is the last also that defines the first, not the first the last. The colt defines the indefinite 'ass;' apostleship defines ministry. The speaker intends the stress for the last of the coupled words, for 'his own city' rather than 'Rama;' for 'our Father,' rather than for 'God.' Now apply this to our passage: 'he shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost, even with fire.' It is clearly inadmissible. The idea of 'fire' is quite subordinate in the speaker's mind to that of 'Holy Ghost.' Were it, 'baptize with fire and (even) the Holy Ghost,' it would be a different matter; for the main idea would then be last, as it ought to be. Thus, too, I should beg to hold that 'born of water and of the Holy Ghost' is not parallel to 'baptize with the Holy Ghost and with fire;' nor yet that other in Titus—'washing of regeneration and renewing of the Holy Ghost.' These two *might* (as far as it is a question of idiom) be respectively rendered 'water, even the Holy Ghost;' 'washing of regeneration, namely, the renewing of the Holy Ghost;' for in both, the first noun gives the subordinate, and the last the main idea. Whether, however, these passages *ought* to be so turned is another matter; but allowing it, I cannot see that the disputed passage is reached by it.

If these observations, then, are just, baptism of the Holy Ghost denotes the blessed privilege of that inward cleansing of spiritual regeneration; baptism with fire, the doom of God's judgment on the impenitent.

If a question should be raised on the propriety of thus terming suffering by the metaphor of baptism, it may be remarked that this figure denotes suffering on all sides—immersion in suffering. The mourner in the Psalms uses expressions very much akin to it—'All thy waves and billows *are gone over me*' (xlii.); 'Thou hast afflicted me *with all thy waves*' (lxxxviii. 7); 'Out of the depths have I cried unto thee, O Lord' (cxxx.); 'The waters of the proud had gone even *over my soul*.' And so Jesus—'I have a baptism to be baptized with, and how am I straitened till it be accomplished!' 'Can ye be baptized with the baptism that I am baptized with?' And to be baptized *with fire* is to be immersed in that which burneth with fire and brimstone, which is the lake second death.

Reading.

ON 1 JOHN v. 6-11.

By GEORGE J. WALKER.

THE great work of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ comprehends two parts—the putting away the filth of our evil nature, and the forgiveness of our sins. Two distinct types in the former dispensation represented these things—the washings and purifications with water, and the shedding and sprinkling of blood. Our old Adam nature (even apart from the consideration of its sinfulness) could not enter the kingdom of heaven (1 Cor. xv. 45-50). Mere human nature, *as such*, could not be introduced into the presence and glory of God. Hence the necessity of regeneration *in* Christ by means of his death and resurrection, and hence it is said that Christ ‘came by water and blood,’ fulfilling in his own person both of the ancient types.

It would seem that to this is to be referred the extraordinary circumstance to which John so peculiarly directs attention, that water, together with, but yet separate from, blood, issued from the Saviour’s pierced side; while at the same time the blessed truth was conveyed, that faith in the *person* of Christ puts him who has it in possession of perfect cleanness and forgiveness. Lest any, while admitting the necessity of a certain cleansing of nature, should overlook or deny atonement by blood, the Apostle adds, ‘not by water only, but by water and blood.’

The types of the passage of the Red Sea (comp. 1 Cor. x. 1, 2), the brazen laver, the washing of the priests (Lev. viii. 6), the ark (comp. 1 Pet. iii. 20, 21), all in their way speak the same language, and enable us to attach a simple and plain idea to the symbolic meaning of water. But as the doctrine of regeneration was not brought out with the same distinctness and prominence in the former dispensations as now, so likewise the types which shadowed it forth are all more or less defective. It was reserved for the ordinance of *baptism* to present to the senses a complete idea of death and resurrection by the burial of the person in the waters, and his rising again (Col. ii. 12; Matt. xxviii. 19; Rom. vi. 1-10), and the thing signified was for the first time associated with a sign perfectly adequate to set it forth.

Ephes. v. 26, and Heb. x. 22, refer to the same thing. The work of the Spirit was typified of old by the anointing oil. The water, the blood, and the oil, were all needful for the priest to enable him to enter and minister in the holy place. Nor have we any title to worship in the *heavenly* sanctuary without participation in the things signified by these three types.

The Spirit was manifested on the earth as distinctly as were the water and the blood (Mark i. 10 ; Acts ii. 3), and thus bears witness as directly to the person of Jesus. Omitting the words generally acknowledged to be spurious, the Apostle continues, 'For there are three that bear witness, the Spirit, and the water, and the blood, and these three agree in one'—*εἰς τὸ ἓν εἰσιν, are unto one* (or the same) *end.* Thus the witness which God hath testified of his Son (v. 9) is confirmed by that borne severally by the Spirit, the water, and the blood ; and moreover, 'He that believeth on the Son of God hath the witness in himself' (v. 10) ; he becomes, that is, a depository of the same witness.^a If the Spirit says Come, so also can he that heareth (Rev. xxii. 17) ; the witness being that 'God hath given to us eternal life, and this life is in his Son' (v. 11).

Being 'born of water' (John iii. 5) may be readily explained from the above considerations, without, as suggested by the Rev. W. Niblock, in the third Number of this Journal, p. 161,^b supposing a hendiadys, a figure which I believe will be found on a close examination to occur less often in Scripture than is sometimes thought. In this instance, to the fusion of the words *ἐξ ὕδατος καὶ πνεύματος* into *ἐξ ὕδατος πνευματικῶν*, or *ἐκ τοῦ ὕδατος τοῦ Πνεύματος*, may be objected, that it obliges us, contrary I believe to Scripture usage, to understand water as descriptive of the regenerating virtue of the Spirit, rather than of the means by which the new nature is obtained, viz. dying and rising again with Christ, from which the quickening operation of the Holy Spirit is to be distinguished, the latter being in fact a result of the former. Nor is there, I think, a parallelism with *ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ καὶ πυρὶ*, for fire may there be taken as exegetical of 'the Spirit ;' whereas (on the supposition of hendiadys) we should have expected here also the more important word to come first, and the qualifying one second, *ἐκ πνεύματος καὶ ὕδατος*. It seems, then, that while there is no direct allusion to baptism in this passage, yet there is to the thing which baptism sets forth. To nothing would the words 'born of water' more naturally refer than to the emblematic use of water as a cleansing medium under the law ; and it is added, 'and of the Spirit,' because in the case of each individual believer the Holy Ghost is the agent by which the result of the Lord's death and resurrection is savingly and effectually applied to the soul.

Titus iii. 5 is an exact parallel ; 'by the washing (or laver) of regeneration, and renewing of the Holy Ghost ;' for I do not, with

^a This passage is often wrongly understood to mean the same as Rom. viii. 16.

^b See also Grotius and others in Poole's *Synopsis*.

the reverend writer above alluded to, regard the latter clause as explanatory of the preceding one.

I do not think that anywhere in Scripture water is used as the emblem of the sanctifying or purifying operations of the Spirit. In John vii. 38, 39, His *indwelling* is compared to fountains of living water; and John iv. 14, if it refers to the Spirit, must clearly be understood likewise of his indwelling, not of his quickening power; but I rather think the divine life within us is signified in this passage.

I have remarked that what the types of water and blood signified in the Old Testament was the putting away the filth of our evil nature, and the forgiveness of sins. It was reserved for the New Testament to bring out clearly that, when the evil of the old was put away, a new nature was also communicated. No ancient type was adequate to express this. The brazen laver had not of old the association of *regeneration*, nor could any of the washings carry the thoughts beyond the getting rid of external defilement. But having been already once born in sin, it was needful not only to get rid of the old, but to have the new nature imparted to us. In John iii. 5 this appears specially alluded to—*water* as that which cleanses from what is evil, and *the Spirit* as that which imparts what is new. Regeneration, obscurely revealed in former times, when that which was within (the true root of evil) was not so prominently dwelt upon, expresses the whole truth, because in the fact of being born again there is necessarily a getting rid of the old in death, and a communication of the new in resurrection: so it is written, *born of water*, not simply *washed* with water.

CORRESPONDENCE.

To the Editor of the Journal of Sacred Literature.

DEAR SIR,—It is with unfeigned pleasure that I hail the publication of your Journal, so well calculated to promote the cultivation of Sacred Literature in this country; and having from my childhood delighted in the study of the Hebrew, I shall feel happy if you will allow me to contribute my mite towards the diffusion of a more accurate knowledge of Scripture. Although a Jew, and consequently on many biblical points at issue with the majority of your readers, yet I feel that the neutral portion of sacred ground which Jew and Gentile may tread in friendship and for mutual benefit, is wide enough to admit of our meeting in amity. I am fond of miscellaneous reading, and occasionally find remarks which appear to me likely to throw light upon scriptural passages. Allow me to record a few of these observations in the order in which they occur to me.

The conjectures as to the nation deriving its origin from Ashkenaz (Gen. x. 3) are well known. Of all the opinions given, none is treated with greater indifference than that of the Rabbis, who understand by it 'Germany.' Now it is remarkable that one of the oldest dynasties of Germany goes by the title of Counts of Ascania. We read in the *Penny Cyclopædia*, in the article ANHALT, 'Its rulers' (of the principality of Anhalt) 'derived their origin from Ascanius, grandson of Japhet, the son of Noah, whose descendants are said to have migrated from the marshes of Ascania in Bithynia, and at last to have settled among the forests of Germany. Hence the princes of Anhalt to this day designate themselves Counts of Ascania.' It is not my object to reopen the question as to whom Ashkenaz refers. But when it is borne in mind—that it is not likely that the dukes of Anhalt should have based their title upon a rabbinical statement; that Jer. li. 27 points to some nation near Ararat; that ethnographical evidence points to the Asiatic origin of the Germans, especially to their relation with ancient Persia; that the erudite Hammer, guided by the affinity of languages, calls them a Bactriano-Median nation; that the primitive inhabitants of Bithynia (which includes the province of Ascania) were conquered, and perhaps expelled, by Thracian immigrants (Herod. i. 28; vii. 75), and consequently may have settled in Europe—I think that the rabbinical tradition deserves some further consideration, the more so since this statement is made for the first time, if I am not mistaken, in the *Talmud Yerushalmi, Treatise Meghilla*, ch. i., which work, according to Zunz (*Gottesdienstliche Vortraege der Juden*, c. iii. p. 53), could not have been compiled later than three centuries after the destruction of the second temple.

The signification of the word *zaananim* occurring twice in Scripture (Josh.

(Josh. xix. 33; Judg. iv. 11) has not hitherto been satisfactorily explained. It is easily perceived from the context that the term is a geographical name. But this does not offer any clue towards the solution of the difficulty, since it is admitted (*Winer's Biblisches Realwörterbuch*, sub voce) that the geographical position of the place or district cannot be ascertained. Nor are lexicographers more fortunate in their conjectures, as the etymologies proposed by Gesenius, Lee, and Fürst do not throw any light upon the nature of the locality alluded to. The difficulty was so strongly felt by the translators of King James's Bible, that, against all grammar, they rendered אֵלֶּן בְּצִנְעָנִים 'from Allon to Zaananim' (Josh. xxx. 33). Now it appears to me that the exact position of this place, or rather district, was centuries back pointed out by rabbinical writers. Both the *Talmud Yerushalmi*, in the first chapter of the *Treatise of Meghilla*, and the *Targum Jonathan*, in loco (Judg. iv. 11) translate 'the marshy plain near Kedesh.' Now we know that this marshy plain, formed by the Jordan, was situate near the western shore of the waters of Meerom, now called by the Arabs Bahrat Chule, 'Lake of Chule,' or rather, as it ought to be called, 'Morass of Chule,' since, according to the testimony of Rabbi Joseph Schwarz (*Sepher Tebuoth Haarets*, p. 99, a), now residing in the Holy Land, this lake in summer presents only a number of marshes. This explanation, so simple and so consistent with the geographical position assigned by Scripture to these places, and which is moreover alluded to in the commentaries of Rashi and Kimchi, *in loco*, would doubtless not have escaped the researches of the biblical scholars, had the word offered to the lexicographers an etymology favourable to the rabbinical statement. But as they all considered the צ as servile and צע as the root, the etymology did not bear out the rabbinical explanation. But I think the lexicographers have been mistaken. It appears to me that בצע, and not צע, is the root, and this word in the Talmudical dialect means 'morass,' as may be seen on referring to the Aruch. I need hardly remind the Hebrew scholars that many genuine Hebrew words not to be found in the Bible have been preserved in the Talmud. According to this view, 'Allon Bezaanim' would be in *stat. const.*, like Ellon Moreh (Gen. xii. 6), and would mean 'the plain of the marshes.'

I shall conclude with an observation on the people called Horites mentioned several times in the Pentateuch (Gen. xiv. 6; Deut. ii. 12, &c.). This word is by all lexicographers known to me derived from חור, 'a hole,' and the people are compared with the Troglodytes of the Greeks. Now I am not so sure that this etymology is correct. The word might as well be derived from חר (which, according to Fürst, is a derivative of חרר), and would then mean 'a freeman,' which appellation would apply to the Horites, at least as well as that generally given. It is not my desire now to discuss this point, as I do not at this moment enjoy the necessary leisure; but the conjecture appears to me worth the consideration of the biblical geographer. What suggested to me this hypothesis was the explanation of the

Midrash,

Midrash, which has **וְאֵת הָעִיר זֶה אֵלֶיָּהּ פָּתִילִים**. Now this last word, as expressed in Hebrew characters, appears to me to be the Greek **Ελευθεροπολις**, 'Freetown,' or 'the city, the residence of the free.'

Dr. A. BENISCH.

London, October 30, 1848.

INCREASE OF THE ISRAELITES IN EGYPT.

In Jahn's *History of the Hebrew Commonwealth* occurs the following passage with reference to this subject:—'An anonymous writer in the *Literarischen Anzeiger*, 1796, Oct. 4, p. 311, has demonstrated that the Hebrews, in four hundred and thirty years, might have increased from 70 persons to 977,280 males above twenty years old. He supposes that of those seventy persons who went to Egypt, only forty remained alive after a space of twenty years; each one of whom had two sons. In like manner, at the close of every succeeding period of twenty years, he supposes one-fourth part of those who were alive at the commencement of the period to have died. Hence arises the following geometrical progression.'

After twenty years, of the seventy there are forty living, each having two sons.

	Consequently	=	80
80	$\frac{2}{3}$	=	120
120	$\frac{2}{3}$	=	180
180	$\frac{2}{3}$	=	270

and so on.

Thus the first term of the progression is	80	=	=	a
The denominator	$\frac{2}{3}$	=	=	b
The number of terms	$4\frac{80}{10}$	=	=	n

Therefore the expression for the whole sum will be

$$\frac{a b^n - a}{b - 1} \text{ or } \frac{80 \times \frac{2}{3}^4 - 80}{\frac{2}{3} - 1} = \frac{80 \times 6109 - 80}{\frac{2}{3} - 1} = 977,280$$

With reference to this, Mr. John Frank, master of Sidest School, near Wells, favours us with the subjoined remarks. He considers that the object of this calculation is 'to make it appear that the wonderful increase of the Israelites in Egypt was, in reality, no wonder at all, and that they might, indeed, without any marvel, have increased half as much again, as Moses states them to have done.' He then proceeds—

On looking over the computation by which this remarkable conclusion is sought to be established, it appears to me to contain several very gross errors. In the first place, the writer reckons the period of increase (the space from the Esodus to the Exodus) as 430 instead of 215 years. In the second place, he does not deduct from the time the 20 years which had elapsed prior to his first term, viz., 80 males above 20, being reached; and in the third, he has computed the *sum of all the*

the terms of his progression, instead of the *last* term, thus giving us the sum of all who were living at each of the vicesimal years, in lieu of those only who were alive at the time of the Exodus. Correcting these errors, it may be well to see to what result his assumption as to births and deaths will lead.

The first term, as before, will be $80 = a$

The ratio $\frac{2}{3} = b$

Number of terms $\frac{1}{2} = n$

and by the usual rule, the last term $= a b^{n-1} = 80 \times \frac{2}{3}^{\frac{1}{2}}$

By logarithms, $\log. \frac{2}{3} = .1760193$, which multiplied

by $\frac{1}{2} = 1.540799$

to which add $\log. 80 = 1.90309$

we have 3.443889 for the log. of the required last term, the number answering to which is nearly 2780, widely different from 977,280!

Omitting further notice of this inaccurate computation, I will now proceed to show what number the 75 persons (using the Septuagint account) would have amounted to in 215 years, supposing that their numbers were doubled every 25 years, this being the rate (as established by Malthus, and generally admitted) at which population tends to increase *if unchecked*.

The first term will in this case be 75

The ratio 2

The number of terms $\frac{215}{25} = 8\frac{2}{5}$

whence the last term will be $75 \times 2^{8\frac{2}{5}}$

$\log. 2 = .30103$

$.30103 \times 8\frac{2}{5} = 2.287828$

add $\log. 75 = 1.8750613$

we have 4.1628893 for the log. of the last term, to which the number 14551 nearly answers.

There remains, therefore, the difference between this number and nearly $2\frac{1}{2}$ millions to be accounted for, and how this is to be done by those who will not allow a miraculous fecundity I cannot imagine.

It may be interesting to know at what rate the 75 persons must have increased, for their number to have amounted to 2,400,000 in 215 years. A very simple logarithmic calculation will show, that to attain this result, their numbers must have doubled about every $16\frac{1}{2}$ years.'

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

Principles of Textual Criticism, with their Application to the Old and New Testaments. Illustrated with Plates and Fac-similes of Biblical Documents. By J. SCOTT PORTER. 8vo., pp. 515. London, 1848.

THIS volume is divided into three Books. The first contains general principles of textual criticism; the second, textual criticism of the Old Testament; and the third, textual criticism of the New Testament. It bears evidence, on every page, of labour and research. The author has taken great pains to make himself acquainted with the subjects he discusses. He had to go over a wide field of reading; and he has diligently traversed it. There are proofs of untiring patience and praiseworthy abilities. Yet it cannot be said with truth, that he has been successful in adding to our previous knowledge of the science; or that he has consulted the best and most recent sources of information. The work indeed is avowedly a compilation, for the use of beginners in the science of criticism; but the writer affirms that 'in all instances he has availed himself of the latest and best investigations which have appeared.' This was certainly his duty; whether he has discharged it, is exceedingly doubtful. Books written in the English and Latin languages have been freely used; while such as are in the German tongue, and *untranslated*, seem to have been little, if at all, consulted. Perhaps the writer does not know German; * if he does, he has been very negligent in availing himself of the critical books composed in it. Thus we find no trace of his personal acquaintance with the *Introductions* of Eichhorn, whose name we have only observed once in a note (written *Eickhorn*), of Bertholdt, Jahn, Hävernicks, Herbst, De Wette (last edition), Guerike, and of Hug (last edition). Equally unknown appear to be Zunz's *Die gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden*; Frankel's *Vorstudien zu der Septuaginta*; Van Ess's *Pragmatische Geschichte der Vulgata*; Hupfeld's *Kritische Beleuchtung*, in the *Studien und Kritiken*; Reuss's *Die Geschichte der Heiligen Schriften Neuen Testaments*; Hengstenberg's *Beiträge*; De Wette's *Exegetisches Handbuch*, and not a few other works composed in the same language. He has not even availed himself of several excellent Latin works, such as Rinck's *Lucubratio Critica in Acta Apostolorum, Epistolas Catholicas et Paulinas*; Thiersch, *De Pentateuchi Versione Alexandrina*; Valckenaer, *Diatribes de Aristobulo Judaeo*; Bernstein's *Commentatio de Charklensi Novi Testamenti translatione Syriaca*; Hirzel, *De Pentateuchi versionis Syriacae quam vocant Peschito, indole*; Credner, *De Prophetarum minorum versionis Syri-*

* In page 285 (note) we meet with *Kritiken und Studien*, herausgeben von Ullmann und Umbreit. In these few words there are two mistakes.

acae quam Peschito vocant, indole; and Lengerke's two treatises on *Ephrem the Syrian*. Nor has he availed himself of works published in English or by Englishmen, such as Kitto's *Cyclopædia*; Tregelles's edition of the *Apocalypse* (Introduction); Davidson's *Sacred Hermeneutics*; and Hamilton's *Codex Criticus*. This list, in its three-fold division, might be multiplied, if it were at all necessary. Hence the reader will be prepared to find many omissions and mistakes. An acquaintance with these and other books might certainly have led the writer to modify, improve, enlarge, alter, and correct many paragraphs and passages.

The book errs much more by defect than by positive mistakes. Important and interesting points, which have been investigated not long since, are quietly passed by. This circumstance has particularly arrested our notice in regard to the accounts given of the Septuagint version and the Targums, which are very imperfect and incorrect. So also with regard to the version called the Philoxenian. Nor is the description of the Vulgate free from the same charge.

We have also noticed the adventurousness of the writer in authoritatively pronouncing an opinion where scholars have been much divided in sentiment; or even when he happens to be in error.

In proof of these general statements, the following details may suffice.

Had Frankel's very able work on the Septuagint been studied, the writer would have seen that there is no proof for the opinion that the Jews read the Septuagint publicly in their synagogues, as he states more than once. He is mistaken in affirming (p. 97), that in the *Tr. Sota* the synagogue lessons were read at Cæsarea, in the Greek language. In the passage of the *Tr. Sota* the lessons are not referred to, but the prayers (see Frankel, p. 58, note). He might have learned, too, that many of Hody's proofs which he copies, in favour of the Egyptian origin of the version, are worthless. Thus γένεσις, the title of the first Old Testament book, is adduced among the proofs of that position; just as if the title proceeded from the translator. Great light has been thrown by Frankel on the history and state of the Septuagint, which must have changed not a few particulars in the account here given. So also the treatises of Valckenaer and Thiersch are too valuable to be overlooked. It is somewhat strange that the oldest testimony respecting the Septuagint, viz. that of Aristobulus, is omitted, after the importance attached to it by Valckenaer, Thiersch, Frankel, and Hävernicks.

In relation to the Targums, we miss all reference to or knowledge of Zunz's profoundly learned work, which has explained and corrected many things respecting them before unknown. Our author says of these Chaldee paraphrases, 'We can hardly fix the composition, even of the earliest among them, much sooner than the commencement of the fifth century; at least if we suppose them to have been made or used by Jews of Palestine' (p. 119). What would Dr. Zunz say of this assertion?

In the account of the Vulgate, our author seems not to have consulted

sulted Van Ess's history of the version. Had he done so, he might have known that Clement VIII. published a new edition in 1593, the year after the edition whose preface was written by Bellarmine, differing in many instances from its predecessor. It is *this* which is the standard text of the version in the Catholic church. The edition of 1593, and also that of 1598, are alike unnoticed in the volume before us.

We need not stop to point out the serious omissions in the work under review. Norzi's *Critical Edition of the Hebrew Bible*, though very important and valuable, is not mentioned; Tischendorf's edition of the *Greek Testament*, the prolegomena to which are admirable, is unnoticed; Rinck's *Lucubratio Critica*, containing a view of Recensions which agrees with Scholz's substantially, and a collection of various readings, is never alluded to. In like manner, no notice is taken of Eichhorn's system of recensions; nor of the oldest Hebrew manuscript at present known, of which Dr. Pinner has lately given so interesting an account.

Mistakes may be often found. Thus (p. 66) Masch's edition of *Le Long's* (not *Lelong*) *Bibliotheca Sacra* is said to be in six volumes, quarto, whereas it is properly in two parts, or four volumes. In a passage from Augustine respecting the paragraph in John's Gospel relating to the adulterous woman, our author translates, 'Some men of weak faith, &c. &c., took away from their MSS., &c.' But Augustine does not say that the paragraph was really ejected from Greek MSS., for the reason he assigns. He conjectures that some persons of weak faith, &c., might have expunged it from their copies (*auferrent*), &c. In speaking of the Septuagint, the author uses these words (p. 83), 'A writer who calls himself Aristeas, and assumes the title of captain of the guard in the service of Ptolemy Philadelphus, &c.' But Aristeas does *not* call himself captain of the guard in the service of Ptolemy. He merely describes himself as being highly esteemed by the king; and Jerome, by confounding him with Andreas, gave rise to the opinion that he was one of the king's body guard. Again, we meet with the following reference to Lachmann (p. 267), 'The former editor published, some years ago, a small edition of the New Testament, with a revised text, but without various readings, from the press of Tauchnitz, at Leipzig, in the preface (?) to which he avowed that he had been guided, in the selection of his text, by the preponderance of *Oriental* as distinguished from *Western* authority. This principle was forthwith adopted as the dictate of profound wisdom by many learned men, and was upon the point of being elevated into an article of critical faith, when, luckily, its author stepped in to save them from this absurdity by propounding a new principle, the very opposite of the former, &c.' This is wholly incorrect. The learned editor did *not* change his opinion. By *Oriental* he means *Alexandrian* (and *Western*). In this appellation he coincides with Griesbach. Scholz, however, follows a different nomenclature. We are informed (in p. 112) that the Slavonic version of the Old Testament was made from Lucian's recension of the LXX. This opinion has been abandoned since Professor Alter of Vienna, who collated

collated it for Holmes, has shown that the version was originally made from the Itala, in the Glagolitic dialect; and that it was not revised after Greek MSS. till the fourteenth century. *The Pentateuch* was published at Prague, in 1519, by Skornia (see Herbst's *Einleit.*, pp. 232, 233). In p. 111, *Adler* is confounded with *Alter*. Both names occur in the history of criticism, and are to be carefully distinguished. The reader will be surprised to find no mention of Muralto's collation of the *Codex Vaticanus* at pp. 279, 280. And yet that collation was published in 1846. Our author seems also to be unacquainted with the account of B. given by Tischendorf, along with various readings and a fac-simile, in the *Studien und Kritiken* for 1847, p. 129 *et seq.*; but we are gravely informed that an edition of it in fac-simile is now in progress, having been begun under the auspices of the late Pope!

In evidence of Mr. Porter's adventurousness, the following specimens may suffice at present. Speaking of the Peshito version of the Old Testament he affirms, 'It is quite manifest that it is the work of several translators, not of one' (p. 122). It is generally allowed by the most competent and recent critics, that the reverse is the fact. Richard Simon, Dathe, Kirsch, Michaelis, Gesenius, Hirzel, De Wette, refer it to one author. Eichhorn and Bertholdt assume more than one. Hävernick modestly says, 'An attempt has been made to prove, from internal grounds, that more writers than one were employed in making the Peshito; but the grounds in question have proved in all cases very weak.' Equally rash, and still more unfounded, is the dogmatic assertion of our author: 'The book which both these writers describe was clearly not the original from which our Greek canonical Gospel of Matthew was translated, but a totally different work' (p. 447). Jerome *expressly identifies* the original Gospel of Matthew with the Nazarene copy. So also Olshausen, Norton, and many others in modern times. We have no doubt of the identity. The best critics, who maintain the Hebrew original of Matthew, hold this opinion. Perhaps our readers will be able, after these remarks, to judge of the truth of Mr. Porter's observation, 'In all instances I have availed myself of the latest and best investigations which have appeared.'

In parting with our author we merely suggest, whether it might not have been more generous to have acknowledged his obligations to Horne's *Introduction*, and to Davidson's *Lectures on Biblical Criticism*. The plan and purpose of his volume coincide with those of the latter work; although no one would think, from Mr. Porter's preface, that a work similar in design to his had ever issued from the English press. 'It would,' says he, 'have been in every point of view more desirable, had a scholar, well accomplished in these branches of learning, assumed to himself the task which I have here attempted; but, having waited for years in vain to see such a work as the present from some abler pen, I have thought it better to offer my own contribution to the science of theology, than to linger in the expectation of seeing that performed by others which no other appeared willing to undertake.'

undertake.' This language is in harmony with the very liberal use of the first pronoun throughout the volume, as well as with the writer's adventurous manner. That he has borrowed from the work in question, with all its mistakes, it would be easy to show. But it is not needful. The volume before us is at least twenty years behind the present state of the science. We praise the author for his laudable attempt. We commend him for his great diligence and labour. We thank him for the beautiful fac-similes he has furnished. He possesses creditable learning and respectable ability; but his self-sufficiency is scarcely compatible with the character of the true scholar, much less with the real value of the present work. He must pardon us for saying, that there are still a few scholars in Great Britain who could produce a much better and more correct work than his; and we are not without hope that some of them may soon be induced to publish a volume which will give a fair view of the state of the science of criticism as far as it has truly advanced. This cannot be done except by a thorough German scholar, and it is highly presumptuous in any other to attempt it.

S. D.

Novum Testamentum Græce, ad fidem codicis principis Vaticani edidit, integram varietatem ætatis Apostolicæ, versionis II. vel III. sæculi, Codd. Alexandrinorum IV. vel V., Græco-Latinorum VI.-VIII. S. Denuo examinatum, et X. codd. Orientalium IV.-XV. S. nec non Slavonicorum XI.-XIII. S. nunc primum collatum, antiquissimum tamquam commentarium cum locis V. T. e cod. Vaticano allatis et cum Lexidio grammatio adjecit EDVARDUS DE MURALTO.

THE text of this edition appeared separately in September, 1846; the publisher then announced the Prolegomena, &c., as likely to appear at the following Easter: these Prolegomena and other accompaniments constitute the difference between the smaller edition of 1846 and this larger edition, which has only made its appearance within the last few weeks.

It will be satisfactory to many students to receive a more precise account of the text and other contents of this edition than could have been learned from the long title which has been prefixed. We shall therefore briefly mention what the editor has performed, and the account which he himself gives of what he has accomplished.

Von Muralt, in common with many other Biblical critics, has particularly desired to exhibit the readings of THE Vatican MS. with accuracy. Of this MS. it is well known that there exist three collations; one made in 1669 by Bartolucci, one executed for Bentley, and that made by Birch. The first remains in MS. at Paris; the second was prepared for publication by Woide (from the collation in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge), and it appeared in 1799; that of Birch was published in his Copenhagen edition of the Gospels and in his *Varia Lectiones*: Birch did not collate the Gospels of Luke and John, but he obtained from Woide a transcript of the MS. collation which had belonged to Bentley.

Von

Von Muralt has used the first and last of these collations; how he omitted to use that of Bentley he does not say: that of Bartolucci he caused to be transcribed for his use from the MS. at Paris; and in addition to these collations made by others, *he obtained access to the MS. itself for three days in 1844; a sufficient time in his opinion to remove the doubts which existed as to the reading of the MS. in those places in which the two collations which he used differ from each other.*

His text then *professedly* exhibits that of the Vatican MS.: words which are found in most other authorities with the exception of this MS. are included in simple [] brackets, and other marks of the same kind are used when the other leading authorities exhibit some variation.

As the Vatican MS. in its present condition does not contain the whole of the New Testament, Von Muralt has *supplied* the pastoral epistles and the close of that to the Hebrews from the Coislin MS. (H. of the epistles), and, where that MS. is defective, from the Codex Passionei (or Angelicus, J. in the epistles): for this MS. he has, however, unfortunately trusted to Scholz's collation, which is far from accurate.

Of the Apocalypse he says, 'Apocalypsin e codice alio Vaticano exhibuimus (olim Basileensi 105). Hoc enim solum cum A et C unciale extat Apographum hujus libri præter aliud Vaticanum huc usque ignotum, quod Tischendorfius editurus est.' (Præf. p. xxvi.)

This MS. is known as B of the Apocalypse; it is now Cod. Vat. 2066, olim *Basilianus* (not Basileensis) 105. It is *the same* MS. as that which he says that Tischendorf was going to publish. This publication *has already* taken place; and from this it is a certain fact (which we also know from personal observation) that the Apocalypse as given by Von Muralt *by no means* follows this MS. with accuracy.

The subjects touched on in the preface to this edition are the following:—The use of the collations of the early fathers. The use of the versions. THE VATICAN MS.; its importance and authority; the hindrances thrown in the way of its being used by critics, &c. The other MSS. of which he gives collations (these collations are *partial*, the editor's object having been to give witnesses for different *classes* of text). A TABLE of all the passages in the New Testament which are either cited or referred to by the earlier fathers, with references to the most ancient Slavonic Evangelistarium, &c. (occupying nearly forty pages). An explanation follows of marks of abbreviation, &c., and there is subjoined a table of Corrigenda, occupying, *unhappily*, *thirteen columns*.

The whole of this prefatory information extends to cxv. pages. The text, which has been already briefly described, extends from page 1 to page 487. The various readings of certain MSS., the Syriac version, Slavonic, &c., which follow, occupy as far as page 695; the volume concludes with a small lexicon of grammatical and orthographical forms found in many of the ancient MSS.

It is to be lamented that Von Muralt has nowhere indicated what he himself gives as the result of his own observation in the Vatican MS.;

MS.; because it is in connection with that MS. that his edition has its especial interest. This would have been the more desirable, because it is *certain*, as Von Muralt himself owns, page xxxvi. (and as we know from actual observation), that the collators have all of them not unfrequently mistaken the correction of a later hand for the genuine and original reading of the MS. Von Muralt's text evidently represents in the main the collation of Bartolucci; and as this collator had facilities for the use of the Vatican MS. not possessed by those who followed him, and as this collation has never been printed, Von Muralt has rendered good service to textual criticism by thus bringing forward the results of that collation; it is thus rendered accessible to many who would otherwise have been under the necessity of going to Paris to use the copy deposited there, if they wished to use it at all.

But with these three collations before us, we cannot help feeling the desirableness of a *perfect re-collation* of the MS. itself; in such a work a careful comparison should be made of all the passages in which the three collations differ; also of those in which anything appears to have escaped the attention of any of them, and also of those places in which (from the *silence* of collators) the Vatican MS. appears to differ from the other more ancient documents.

We make no remark at present on the *critical principles* enunciated by Von Muralt; we may, perhaps, at some future time consider this subject at large by bringing into one view the critical principles of recent editors, Lachmann, Tischendorf, and others.

This cannot be properly done until the completion of the new edition of which Tischendorf has just put forth the four gospels. The *Commentatio Isagogica* is to follow; he has now contented himself by giving a brief preface, in which he indicates the MSS., &c., used as authorities in the four gospels. He announces a system of recensions which is to be explained in his *Commentatio*; he gives as the names of these families or classes, African, Latin, Asiatic, Byzantine. The remainder of the New Testament may be expected, he says, in a few months.
S. P. T.

Posthumous Works of the Rev. Thos. Chalmers, D.D., LL.D.,
edited by the Rev. WILLIAM HANNA, LL.D. Vols. III.—V.
Sutherland and Knox, Edinburgh, 1848. Pp. 426, 436, 507.

THE first two volumes of these works have already been brought before our readers, and it is now our pleasant task to direct attention to three others of the quarterly issue. The third volume concludes the 'Daily Scripture Readings' with which the two preceding were occupied, and the fourth and fifth contain the whole of the 'Horræ Biblicæ Sabbaticæ,' or 'Sabbath Scripture Readings.'

To commend these works is superfluous; they have met with universal approbation from the British press and public. That the periodical press, representing so great a variety of religious and political opinion, should have so generally noticed them, and that, too, with high commendation, is a circumstance exceedingly rare, if not altogether

altogether unparalleled. They have charms for the merely literary man, and they will obtain a hearing for evangelical truth in quarters from which it would otherwise be excluded. Perhaps no previous work displays so fully the remarkable idiosyncracies of the author. It is not easy to fancy what estimate would be formed of the 'Readings' by one who had never heard of their author's name. They are not likely to fall into the hands of such an individual, for the fame of the illustrious Chalmers is wide as Christendom itself; but even if they should, their intrinsic excellence would secure attention, and could not fail to excite admiration. Unquestionably, however, our interest in them is greatly augmented by our previous acquaintance with the author. We here obtain a view of the inner life of this great man. We had formerly known him as the orator, the philosopher, the divine; we now know him as the man of God, and are privileged to hear his communings in his daily walk with God.

The third volume of the '*Horæ Biblicæ Quotidianæ*' extends from the beginning of the Psalms to the end of Jeremiah. Of this portion, we have felt most interest in the remarks on the Psalms. The devout reader can hardly peruse these without the most cordial sympathy with the noble mind of Chalmers. Though accomplished in all science, he is here simple as a child. His appreciation of the poetical and the picturesque qualify him for illustrating these 'Songs of Zion.' Yet does he give becoming prominence to the spiritual element.

'Before entering,' says he, 'on this rich and precious department of Scripture, let me lift up a solemn prayer to God, that he would enable me to gather from it those fruits unto holiness, the end of which is life everlasting; and that the same spirit which animated the Psalmist would enlighten and impress me with all the fervour and devotedness which burn and breathe throughout these sacred compositions—a treasure and blessing to the Church in all ages. Let me, O God, drink in the spirit and sentiment of these blessed effusions.'

The question as to the Messianic character of certain Psalms is considered. Of the 110th he says—'The application to the Messiah is clear and undoubted. The exaltation of Christ and triumph over His enemies form the themes of this lofty composition.' He contends also, as we think rightly, for a sole reference of Psalm xlv. as a whole to Christ. We are sorry to observe that he advocates a 'primary meaning' and a 'double sense' in Psalms ii. and xxii.; for, besides the objectionable character of these phrases, it scarcely admits of reasonable doubt that both psalms are exclusively applicable to the Redeemer. The remarks on Psalm viii. are admirably discriminating. He seems to apply Psalm xvi. in part to David; but the apostles show that it is inapplicable to the royal psalmist, and is the appropriate language only of the divine Saviour. In a host of psalms he upholds the doctrine of a double reference, and in many of these cases the sound interpreter will find nothing to which he can object.

We were surprised, on reading the remarks on Psalm ex. 7, to find that our author favours the interpretation which refers the 'brook in the way' to the cup of our Saviour's sufferings. His remarkably just appreciation of the imagery of the sacred bards enabled him to

perceive the incongruity of the old interpretation, and he therefore presents it in the interrogative form, as if he had some hesitation in following it. The idea evidently is that of an exhausted warrior, drinking of the refreshing stream, and lifting up the head, being revived.

The remarks on Psalms xviii., lxxxix., xc., civ., cvii., cxix., and Is. xiii., xiv., are peculiarly excellent and characteristic. The descriptions are often truly graphic.

Of the 20th Psalm he says that it 'illustrates well the theory that, along with many others, it was so constructed as to be sung in parts.'

He often expresses his high admiration of the mere poetry of the Psalms. Of the 80th Psalm he remarks—'What a noble specimen of poetry in the figure here, so well sustained and amplified! What a misconception of Johnson's, that sacred subjects did not admit of poetical embellishment; and how decisively met by that best of all refutations, even Scriptural example!'

On Psalm cix. he starts with the vindication of the lawfulness of prayer for the destruction of enemies; but in verse 12 he changes his principle of interpretation, saying, 'On the whole, I do not feel independent of the hypothesis, that these prayers are the predictions of inspired men, speaking not of themselves, but as moved by the Holy Ghost.'

In Psalm cxix. we have one of those fine personal allusions which are of frequent occurrence, and profoundly interesting, as indicative of the fervent piety of this great man: 'I have long fixed on verse 20—"My soul breaketh for the longing that it hath unto thy judgments at all times"—as the most descriptive of my own state and experience of any in the Bible. What straining have I had after a right understanding of God and His ways, more especially the way of salvation!'

In closing his studies on the Psalms he says, 'I shall never again so dwell upon them on earth. My God, prepare me for heaven, and for joining there in the songs of the redeemed in the high services of eternity.'

Of the word 'Selah,' which occurs so often in the Psalms, he affirms that 'certainly it occurs nowhere else in Scripture;' but this is an oversight, for it occurs thrice in Hab. iii.

He records his 'own sense of the chief *notabilia* of Scripture.' The remarkable 'sayings' he notices are found with great frequency in the Psalms, Proverbs, Isaiah, and Jeremiah.

Frequent allusions are made to what was at the time interesting to the author. Some of these allusions must be obscure to the general reader, and the interest felt in them would have been greatly heightened by an occasional note from the editor, whose thorough knowledge of everything relating to his father-in-law abundantly qualifies him for such a service. His great interest in the West Port Church and Mission is conspicuous in all the 'Readings.' There is frequent mention of the famine in the Highlands of Scotland and Ireland. His exercises before communion occasions are truly refreshing. Speaking of the Rechabites, in Jeremiah xxxv., he says, 'Let me record my sense

sense of the value of temperance, and my friendliness to temperance societies.' The great subject of constant recurrence, however, is, in the earlier 'Readings,' the Church of Scotland; and in the later, the Free Church. We have perused these portions with the liveliest interest. There is so much of heart in them, that they are not likely to offend those belonging to other denominations. They indicate the author's deep earnestness and thorough conscientiousness. With equal cordiality he alludes to the Evangelical Alliance and the union of different denominations of Christians. In July, 1843, two months after the disruption, he seems to have felt a leaning towards voluntarism, though he had often denounced it so vehemently. Adverting to the religious duties of nations as such, he proposes a question which, a short time previously, he would have answered decidedly in the affirmative,—'Can nothing be done religiously, or nothing be done by them for religion, in their national capacity?' and adds, 'Save me, O God, from rushing headlong or heedlessly into the voluntary principle.' The allusions at volume iii., pp. 4, 148, 167; vol. v., pp. 238, 268, are obscure. These are specimens of numerous passages which ought to receive illustration in the forthcoming memoir.

The Prophecies of Jeremiah form the last book of Scripture that passed in review before the mind of the venerable Chalmers, having been finished in May, 1847, immediately before his death. He seems to have dwelt on the pages of this prophet with great delight, repeatedly making the remark, that 'Isaiah has too much overshadowed Jeremiah, whose book of prophecy is a copious repertory of precious things, where we find very many of the most weighty and memorable of our Bible sayings.' These reflections will yield most pleasure and profit to the reader who peruses them daily, in small portions, as they were written, and in connection with the passages which originated them.

The 'Sabbath Scripture Readings' differ somewhat from the 'Daily Readings.' There is less of explanation and more of devotion in the 'Sabbath Meditations.'

'Written' (says the editor) 'amid the quiet of the day of rest, they rise to a higher region, and breathe a calmer and a holier air. They are contemplative and devotional, passing generally into direct addresses to the Deity. But though springing from and grounded upon the portions of Scripture which had just been read, these Sabbath musings are not limited to the topics which the Scripture passages embrace. The meditative faculty takes its flight from one or other of the elevations to which the word has raised it, but it soars freely and broadly away; and the region oftenest visited, and from which it brings the richest treasures, is the inner circle of the private and the personal.'

It is also stated by the editor that the 'Quotidianæ' volumes lay where access was not forbidden. They were shown occasionally to a familiar friend; but to no eye, not even to that of his nearest relative, were the 'Sabbaticæ' ever exposed. Whilst no difficulty, therefore, was felt as to the publication of the one, a difficulty has been felt as to the publication of the other. We think it not unlikely that Chalmers expected that both his Daily and Sabbath Readings would be embraced in his posthumous works; and the religious public, especially his much-

much-loved Scotland, would have been unwisely—we had almost said unjustly—deprived of a precious legacy, had the latter been withheld.

The following passage, peculiarly tender and affecting, proves that he expected that his ‘Sabbath Readings’ would be perused by his own family at least after his death :—

‘As Paul prays for his spiritual children, even so would I for the children of my own family. One came to me yesternight, and announced herself for the first time as an intending communicant. I thank my God, on her behalf, that this has been put into her heart. O, may it prove the commencement and continuance of a good work in her soul! May she be confirmed and graciously upheld to the end of her life, so as to be found unblamable and unprovable in the great day of reckoning! O God of faithfulness, who now calls her to this act of outward fellowship with the Saviour, do thou follow this up by increased manifestations of thine own sanctifying and transforming power upon her heart: and should her eye ever light upon this page after that I am laid in the grave, may all her purposes of devotedness to Christ be strengthened by the remembrance of a father who loves, and who now prays for her!’ (Vol. iv., p. 214.)

Two volumes are occupied with the ‘Sabbath Readings,’ the former embracing the whole of the New Testament, and the latter from Genesis to 2 Kings xi. In these ‘Readings,’ as might be supposed, the Sabbath is the frequent subject of remark. Thus, on Genesis ii., the author says—

‘Sabbath is as old as Creation. Let me feel the reverence due to an institution so originated and of such antiquity, and let me take a special lesson from the use to which it was appropriated by God: He rested from the labours of the preceding week. O that I could make the day thus set apart, and for such a purpose, a day of holy rest from the secularities and cares of our every-day world! thereby I should both sanctify and enjoy it, making it a day alike of pleasure and of profit to my soul. But for this end let my conversation be in Heaven—let my pleasure be in communion with God. Quicken me, O Lord, into a sense and perception of the things of faith.’

Whatever may be said of the ‘days’ of creation, our author recognises it as an unquestionable historic fact that, from the creation of man, the seventh day was sanctified. The discoveries of science do not and cannot affect the positive institution which was made when God appointed a hebdomadal rest for the newly-created pair. There is no counter statement written on those strata on which is inscribed the history of the changes which have passed over our earth in the remote ages of the past. The Sabbath in the wilderness, in the decalogue, and the allusions to it in the law, give rise to special remark. In connection with the resurrection of Christ, recorded in the Gospels, the change from the seventh to the first day of the week is noticed; and it is denied that the Christian’s ‘discharge from the legal obligation of days’ at all affects the obligation of the Sabbath. On our Saviour’s statements that ‘the Sabbath was made for man,’ and that ‘the Son of Man is Lord also of the Sabbath,’ it is remarked—

‘It is not me, but Christ, who is the Lord of the Sabbath; let me not, therefore, seek my own pleasure or my own will on that day. Though man was not made for the Sabbath, let not the Sabbath, therefore, fall in my reverence and estimation, but recollect that the Sabbath was made for man; and let me diligently avail myself of all its blessed services to my growth in grace and advancement both in the faith and holiness of the Gospel. O, give me not a sentimental, but a real spiritual love

love for the quietness and for all the sacred opportunities of that hallowed day. Let me never forget its place in the decalogue, and how there it is shrined and set among the immutabilities of truth, and piety, and justice—these eternal and irrevocable duties of the moral law. May Thy Sabbath be my delight, and, in virtue of its preparations and exercises, may every week find me in greater meetness than before, both for the joys and the services of that Sabbath which never ends.

References are occasionally made for illustration to the 'Pictorial Bible' and Robinson's 'Researches;' but it would have been better to have given the substance of the passages referred to, as hundreds of the readers may never have seen these works, especially the latter.

Our author fully appreciates the importance of a knowledge of the customs and geography of the East, in order to a proper understanding of the Scriptures. Of the latter he says—

'It is good to verify, as far as we can, the geography of Scripture, identifying it with the geography of the present day. There is great delight in the study, and let me here testify the enjoyment which I have had in the *relievo* map of Palestine.'

He seems to have felt great difficulty on the question of American slavery, as discussed in the Free Church: this appears from his allusions to it (vol. iv., p. 336; vol. v., pp. 262, 272, 274).

The tendency to prosecute one great subject, without much discrimination in regard to collateral topics, is a prominent characteristic of the mind of Chalmers. He presses through his illustrations with so much eagerness, that he seems to forget what he has previously written on the related subjects. He is a moderate Calvinist, but he refuses to be trammelled by the systematic divines. 'It seems to me,' says he, 'an effective Scriptural argument against those particular Redemptionists who explain away the universality of the Gospel by telling us that it only bears on some men in all nations—that Paul speaks of repentance being a call addressed to *all men everywhere*.' (Vol. iv., p. 173.) The following language will appear strange as coming from a minister of the Free Church of Scotland:—

'In spiritual things let us call no man master. Save me, O God, from the influence of human authority in matters of religion, and let not an intolerant systematic theology warp my views of Scripture or deafen the impression, whether upon my mind or heart, of any of its sayings. Let me derive all my Christianity, whether its *credenda* or *agenda*, direct from the fountain-head of inspiration; nor suffer the portly volumes of the erudite masters in our science, nor even the confessions and formularies of any of our churches, to stand between me and the Word of God.' (Vol. v., p. 175.)

Several interesting allusions are made to his own family. In January, 1847, he says, 'There has not yet been a death in my dwelling-house, though a domestic man now since 1803; and what is more blessed still, no perversity or unmanageableness on the part of my children.' And again he prays for them all 'expressly and particularly—My dear wife, Anne, Eliza, Grace, Margaret, Helen, and Fanny; and last, for my only grandchild, dear little Tommy.' Repeated mention is made of the illness of Mrs. Chalmers, but she was mercifully spared to him.

Affecting allusions are made to his own approaching death and anticipations of the bliss awaiting him beyond the tomb, but the length
to

to which this notice has already extended precludes our quoting them. (See especially vol. v., pp. 241, 249-251.)

Altogether these volumes will add to the well-merited fame of Chalmers, and they will greatly deepen the impression of his earnestness, perfect sincerity, and fervent piety. P. M.

Baptism, with reference to its Import and Modes. By EDWARD BEECHER, D.D. Wiley, New York and London, 1848. 12mo. pp. 362.

Infant Baptism, a Scriptural Service and Dipping unnecessary to its right administration; containing a Critical Survey of the leading Evidence, Classical, Biblical, and Patristic. By the Rev. ROBERT WILSON, Professor of Sacred Literature for the General Assembly, in the Royal College, Belfast. London, Longmans, 1848. 8vo. pp. 534.

Books of this class, being essentially controversial, do not come regularly within our range of objects. Yet the subjects discussed in them involve points of Scriptural interpretation which entitle them to such indicatory notice as may apprise our readers of their general purport.

There is much similarity between these works, though more in substance than in form. Both are essentially devoted to the same subject, and both embody substantially the same views of it, and both are more or less written in reply to the same controversialist, Dr. Carson. Mr. Wilson's book is, however, the most complete whole, that of Dr. Beecher being a collection of sundry dissertations published at different times in the *American Biblical Repository*. The later work consists of four parts. The first is entirely devoted to the discussion of the import of the word βαπτίζω, deduced from a consideration of the circumstances which should determine or influence the signification, and from an examination of its use by ancient writers. This portion being republished in this country under the recommendation of Dr. Henderson, drew forth an answer from Dr. Carson of Edinburgh; but, meanwhile, Dr. Beecher had pursued the investigation previously opened, and here embodied in Part II., which was completed before the author had seen Dr. Carson's reply. In this second part, Dr. Beecher pursues his inquiries into the meaning of the word βαπτίζω, and examines in detail the celebrated texts, Rom. vi. 3, 4, and Col. ii. 12. By this time the author had seen Dr. Carson's performance, and furnishes the answer to it, which is contained in Part III. To this Dr. Carson published a short answer, to which our author publishes a rejoinder, Part IV. Such is the construction of this work, which contains much matter likely to interest those who delight in such controversies, which, we must confess, we do not; and we feel the more reason to be satisfied with our exhausted relish for this kind of writing when we see what hard things two such good and gifted men as Dr. Beecher and the late Dr. Carson cannot help throwing at each other's heads.

Dr. Beecher thus clearly classifies the opinions of those who have written on the subject to which his book is devoted:—

‘1. Those

'1. Those who maintain that the word (*βαπτίζω*) in the whole extent of its usage has various meanings, and from this fact alone draw the inference that, therefore, the rite may be performed in various ways, making at the same time no attempt to prove which of these various meanings it actually has in the case in question.

'2. Those who fix on a specific and modal meaning—e. g. *immerse*, and which, of course, excludes all dispute as to the mode, and yet insist that no mode is essential.

'3. Those who look mainly at the obvious design of the rite, and on this ground affirm that to Baptize is to apply water in any way which denotes purity, without attempting to make out a philological proof of the truth of their point from the import of the word *βαπτίζω*.

'4. Those who insist that the word in all its extent of usage has but one meaning—viz., to immerse, and that this excludes all debate as to the mode.'—pp. 7, 8.

In Dr. Beecher's opinion *none* of these positions is adapted to explain all the facts that occur in the use of the word, and to give satisfaction and rest to an inquiring mind; and the position which he takes and endeavours to prove is this—

'That the word *βαπτίζω*, as a religious term, means neither dip nor sprinkle, immerse nor pour, nor any other external action in applying a fluid to the body, or the body to a fluid, nor any action which is limited to one mode of performance; but that as a religious term it means, at all times, to purify, or cleanse—words of a meaning so general as not to be confined to any mode, or agent, or means, or object, whether material or spiritual, but to leave the widest scope to the question as to the mode—so that, in this usage, it is in every respect a perfect synonym of the word *καθαρίζω*.'

Mr. Wilson, whose work is divided into *two* parts—'Mode of Baptism' and 'Subjects of Baptism'—devotes much of the first to an analogous investigation of the meaning of the word and of its usage in ancient authorities. This is done with more elaborate exactness than by Dr. Beecher, and the conclusion reached is not the same. Mr. Wilson very properly takes the verbs *βάπτω* and *βαπτίζω* into separate consideration. He brings the detailed evidence to show that 'to dip' is the primary sense of *βάπτω*, and that its secondary sense is 'to dye'; but he denies that every occurrence of *βάπτω*, in the sense of *dyeing*, necessarily involves the modal signification of *dipping*; but affirms, as indeed Baptist writers now admit, that it often means to *dye* without *dipping*. Proceeding to *βαπτίζω*, and canvassing the classical, Biblical, and patristic uses of the word at great length, the author considers that in the *classical* instances *dipping* is by no means essential to the process indicated by *βαπτίζω* and its derivatives. In examining the evidence of the Septuagint, Apocrypha, and Josephus, the author digresses into the consideration of the word *λούω*, 'to wash,' or 'bathe,' in which he brings out with much triumph 'the pregnant fact that in Greece and Egypt the ordinary mode of bathing in ancient times was by pouring, not by immersion.' This we thought every one knew; but from the importance which Mr. Wilson attaches to the discovery it would seem not to have been before produced in the Baptismal controversy. Mr. Wilson finds that 'the bearing of this fact in the most instructive Scriptural allusions to baptism, is found to be equally direct and important.' The survey of the New Testament evidence leads the author into large digressions upon the Jewish proselyte baptism

baptism and the Pharisaic ablutions, in the relations which they severally sustain to the Christian ordinance. In the copious discussion of the patristic evidence, Mr. Wilson reaches the conclusion that, in the language of the Greek and Latin fathers, 'circumfusions, pourings, sprinklings, &c., are all veritable baptisms;' the result of this part of the discussion seems to bring the author to the first class of opinions indicated in the above extract from Dr. Beecher—namely, that the word having such various applications, the mode of baptism is of no consequence.

The second part of Mr. Wilson's volume, devoted to the subject of infant baptism, travels over well-beaten ground, vindicating the practice from the most recent objections. This portion is necessarily more argumentative than critical, and the arguments do not admit of statement or discussion in this place.

Mr. Wilson has the advantage of being previously acquainted with Dr. Beecher's writings on the subject, as originally produced in the *Biblical Repository*, and now in the volume before us. The two books together will put the reader in possession of the present state of this great controversy (that is, the pædo-baptist side of it), which has somewhat changed its ground of late years; and the work of Mr. Wilson, if not better for *study*, will be probably *read* with the most satisfaction, from its breadth of view and unity of plan. It has also the advantage of being not only one of the very ablest, but the *latest* book on a subject which ought to be of absorbing interest, if a judgment may be formed from the number of works which have been given to it—no small library of themselves.

On Trees, their Uses and Biography. By JOHN SHEPPARD. London, Jackson and Walford, 1848. 24mo. pp. 176.

Gardening for Children. Edited by the Rev. C. A. JOHNS, B.A., F.L.S. London, Charles Cox. 32mo. pp. 168.

The Florist, for 1848. London, Chapman and Hall, 1848.

THESE books have lain some time before us. By the love we bear to trees and flowers we craved to notice them; but from the fear that they should be deemed beyond our province, we withheld our hand. There is, however, a sacred literature in these things, even when not in form sacredly handled; and the study and love of them seems to us so beautifully harmonious with all studious habits and all happy religious feeling, that although we might not think it our duty to point out the works which may promote the pursuit, and aid the cultivation of the knowledge and the feelings proper to it, we certainly do not imagine that we swerve from our duty in affording such indications. To the pursuit which has cheered many long years of studious labour, which have known no other relaxation but that which it has afforded, we owe some tribute, and it shall be paid.

The first of the above books is from the pen of one who cannot write what the public will not delight to read. His eloquent work on Prayer

Prayer will last as long as the language in which it is written, and although many years have passed since it appeared, a child who knew that noble work might recognise the same masterly hand and the same happy heart in this little book of trees. Upon the whole, however, this esteemed writer excels most where he has room for thought, and to follow out the associations of his ideas. This is not the case here; the matter is so overlaid with facts, that space is not left for many of the rich thoughts which might have been expected. It forms the substance, with additions, of a lecture delivered before the Frome Institute and in Bristol. It will give us no idea of the numerous curious facts and fine remarks which the volume embodies, to say that the first lecture is devoted chiefly to the use of trees, and the second to various facts concerning them, classed under the heads, Individuality; Magnitude and Longevity of Trees; Trees signalized by Persons and Events; Lessons on Ancient Trees, &c. The book will be of interest and value to all who love trees, and it will no doubt induce many to exclaim with the author, 'I would beg a mule's burden of earth, rather than not have a little altar for the Dryads.' The book is enriched with many very excellent wood-cut portraiture of trees.

The Gardening for the Young is a capital little book, full of information and instructions which we can attest to be excellent, and forming an admirable guide to young people in the care of a garden. It will therefore materially tend to encourage and aid the formation of a taste for horticultural pursuits, which we believe to be productive of a larger amount of real enjoyment of the highest quality, during the whole course of life, than any other. Other pursuits are proper to, or enjoyed most in, some one time of life—childhood, youth, manhood, or age; but gardening supplies enjoyment for all ages, affording pleasures into which the merest child can enter with zeal, and exhibiting interests in which the profoundest philosopher can refresh his mind. For children especially, there is nothing which so much as a taste for gardening tends to form those habits of order, neatness, and industry, which, however formed, are of unspeakable importance to happiness and usefulness in all the pursuits and relations of life. But children are apt to be discouraged by the want of suitable guidance in the many little difficulties which arise to learners in this pursuit, and we feel that they will hail with intense satisfaction the large body of practical information in a small compass which *Gardening for Children* offers to them.

We wish before closing to say a word in strong approbation of the monthly publication, *The Florist*, which has just closed its first volume. It is supported by the most experienced florists and amateurs of the day, by whom it is undertaken as a labour of love, its profits being expended in the improvement of the work. It is conducted in a thoroughly honest and generous spirit; the information it affords is of the most valuable character, and fully up to the knowledge of the time; and the most experienced growers of favourite plants unreservedly disclose in the most liberal manner the secrets of their art, in contributions worth, to amateurs, their weight in gold of the types in which

which they are 'set up.' Whether it regards the matter, the print, or the engravings, this publication is a decided advance upon everything of the sort that has previously appeared. That it is under the superintendence of Mr. Edward Beck, of Isleworth, will be a sufficient recommendation to all who know anything of floriculture.

All these works are pervaded by a wholesome spirit of pious reference to the great Author of every flower that grows, which it is most refreshing to witness, and which tempts one to hope that the mantle of the pious old herbalists has descended upon this generation.

The Paragraph Bible. The Holy Bible, containing the Old and New Testaments, according to the Authorized Version; arranged in Paragraphs and Parallelisms, with an entirely new selection of References to parallel or illustrative passages, Prefaces to the several Books, and numerous Notes. London. The Religious Tract Society, 1849. 12mo. pp. 937.

THIS neat volume appears to be a new edition of a work which has for some years been circulated by the Tract Society. We are glad of the opportunity of giving it our most cordial commendation. We know not any pocket Bible which in the same degree realizes the great conditions of highest usefulness with freedom from any possible ground of exception by any denomination of Christians. It is a most carefully prepared volume. Few, perhaps, but those who have been, like ourselves, engaged in similar labours, can thoroughly understand what large amount of time, what solicitude, research, and labour the preparation of this small and unpretending volume must have exacted. The arrangement of the text into paragraphs and parallels, although the most conspicuous feature of the volume, is only one of the various utilities which the book comprises. The parallel references are copious, and most admirably selected. The plan of adherence to the Authorized Version would seem to restrict the edition to the various renderings which the margin in that translation exhibits; these are accordingly preserved, but others are also offered, particularly in the New Testament, and although these are, for the most part, judiciously chosen, we have some doubts whether their introduction, especially when points of doctrine are involved, may not be quoted as a departure from the safe and unassailable ground with which most people expect the Society under whose auspices the volume is produced to keep its feet. For the same reason it might have been wished that the short notes, which become numerous in the Epistles, had been confined to simple illustration, as, beyond this, special interpretations of disputable texts are scarcely avoidable, even by such judicious care as is in this work manifested. The notes, however, cannot fail to render the book more really acceptable and useful to the mass of readers for whose benefit it is intended, and has arisen, probably, in the desire for the utmost usefulness. But some of the same reasons which deter the Bible Society from issuing Bibles with any notes, will be supposed to confine this Society to the simply illustrative class of notes—that is, notes

notes in explanation of facts and circumstances respecting which no differences of opinion can be entertained.

In the Prefaces to the several books also, the Editor often necessarily touches on matters on which different views have been held. This he for the most part indicates; and, upon the whole, taking the design of the work into account, this difficult part of his task has been no less judiciously than skilfully performed.

We have not the means of comparing this with former editions; but there are manifest signs of recent additions and improvements. The work is enriched with valuable tables and neat maps, and, taken altogether, the volume combines in the smallest possible compass so many useful helps, as to be a perfect treasure to the great mass of Bible readers, and fully merits the large circulation which it has doubtless realized. The copy we have is in too small a type for the aged and tender eyed. The tendency of modern publications is by close printing and small type to restrict the most useful works to the new generation; but the old one ought, if only for pity, to be allowed some share in the good things that are now abroad in the world.

BIBLICAL INTELLIGENCE.

WE are glad to learn that Mr. Josiah Conder, who has enriched our theological literature with the *Literary History of the New Testament* and other valuable works of great ability and research, has now in the press a volume of much promise—*The Harmony of History with Prophecy*, in the shape of an Exposition of the Apocalypse. In the announcement of this work it is justly stated, that ‘numerous as are the works upon the Prophecies, there are few complete Expositions of the Book of Revelation. A compendious Commentary, in a popular form, bringing down the historical interpretation of Fulfilled Prophecy to the present time, and combining the results of modern criticism with practical instruction, will, it is presumed, be regarded as not a superfluous or unacceptable undertaking.’

We have received the two first Numbers of a new American publication, *The Theological and Literary Journal*, edited by David W. Lord. Its primary design is ‘to refute the prevailing methods of interpreting the prophetic Scriptures, and unfold the true laws of their explication.’ Until the principal branches of that subject have been discussed, and the works concerning it that are now considered as of authority reviewed, one article in regard to it, and sometimes more, will appear in each Number. It is to treat also of other theological themes as occasion requires, of morals, science, and literature generally, either in independent articles or in reviews of books. There is much in this publication that will be interesting to the students of prophecy, and even those who cannot subscribe to all the views of the Editor will find cause to regard his abilities and learning with respect. Nearly one-half of the first Number is occupied by a searching and somewhat disparaging review of Stuart’s *Commentary on the Apocalypse*, the writer of which seems to think that the Revelation has been neglected by Biblical scholars—an opinion in which we are very far from concurring. An equally large proportion of the second Number is taken up by an article on the harm of Symbolical Representation; and this will probably be of the most interest of all the contents of the two Numbers to the class
of

of readers for whom the publication is intended. The papers not on prophecy are executed with ability and judgment.

But that it has become common to see the same impulses simultaneously operating wide apart, it might excite surprise to find a Quarterly Journal devoted to investigations of prophecy appearing in this country at the same time with the above—both also, among other points of analogy, advocating the pre-millennial advent of our Lord. This is the *Quarterly Journal of Prophecy*, two of the principal papers in the first Number of which ('How should Unfulfilled Prophecy be Studied?' and 'The General Scope of the Apocalypse') are on the same subjects as the two principal articles in the first Number of the American publication. The English Journal is, however, more exclusively than the American devoted to unfulfilled prophecy, and is hence more exclusively addressed to those who take interest in the study; but this is a large and increasing proportion of the religious public, and the work has every chance of the success which we desire for it.

Our Quarterly List of Foreign Publications in Sacred Literature usually affords in the most compendious form much of the information which might otherwise appear in our *Biblical Intelligence*, which is therefore (to avoid repeating the same intimations in another shape) rendered at times comparatively meagre in its intimations. These lists are in our judgment far more useful than any separate announcement, as they enable the reader to see at one view all that has lately been done in this branch of foreign literature. That 'all' continues to be but little this quarter; the same causes which have checked literary production in this country having still more seriously operated on the Continent. The great scholars of Germany are still doubtless at work, but they abstain from producing the results of their labours till the subsidence of political excitement affords them the hope of finding readers. The first season of calm will doubtless bring forth in abundance the fruits which have been silently ripening during the storm.

We have before us the two first Numbers of a new weekly publication, of a class still peculiar to Germany, called the *Freie Allgemeine Kirchenzeitung*, which the second title describes as being the 'organ of the democratic development of religious church objects and life in Germany.' It is founded and edited by Dr. Ludwig Roach, and which is more ecclesiastical than some of its contemporaries and more literary than others, adopts as its leading object 'the separation of the Church from the State, and the School from the Church.'

We have seen a Prospectus of the *Pastoral-Kirchenzeitung für die Evangelisch-Lutheranische Kirche*—a monthly publication, the first Number of which is to appear in February, 1849. It is to be distinguished from all existing periodicals, by the exclusive appropriation of its pages to matters connected with the service of the ministry. It will be published at Berlin, and the Prospectus is signed by G. Ch. H. Stip as Editor.

The Germans, who seem to watch our religious affairs and development much more narrowly than ourselves, have now taken up the subject of Irvingism—a name (Irvingismus) which much strikes the eye now in looking over German publications. A long article on the subject runs through several recent Numbers of Tholuck's *Anzeiger*.

The Rev. J. R. Tiele has published a Chronology of the Old Testament from Adam to the return of the Jews from Babylon in the first year of Cyrus (*Chronologie des Alten Testaments, &c.*). It is designed for theologians and educated persons, particularly students in history. It is illustrated with six engraved plates. The work has not come under our own notice, but is spoken of very favourably in the German reviews as an important work, executed with ability and thorough knowledge.

Tischendorf has lately published the first half (containing the Gospels) of the second Leipzig edition of his *Novum Testamentum Græce*, and the remainder was to appear in December, and probably has been produced, though we have not yet seen it announced.

The

The Rev. Dr. Trautmann, Lutheran pastor in Waldenburg, has just published *Die Apostolische Kirche, oder Gemälde der Christlichen Kirche zur Zeit der Apostel*,—‘The Apostolic Church, or a Portraiture of the Christian Church in the time of the Apostles: an Historical Investigation.’ This work owes its origin to a series of lectures delivered by the author some years ago in Dresden. From the Prospectus and table of contents, which is all we have yet seen of it, this work would seem to be of much interest and importance. We shall not lose sight of it.

During the winter semester, 1848–1849, the following Professors will lecture on the subjects annexed to their names:—At the University of BRESLAU—Professor Schulz, on ‘Introduction to the New Testament,’ and on ‘The Gospels and John’s Epistles;’ Hahn, on ‘The Epistles to the Galatians and 1 Corinthians;’ Rabiger, on ‘The Psalms and the Apocalypse;’ Oehler, on ‘The History of the Jewish-Alexandrian Theology;’ Bernstein, on ‘The Syriac Language,’ and on ‘The Koran;’ Neumann, on ‘Hebrew Grammar.’ At BONN—Kraft, on ‘The Geography of Palestine,’ and on ‘The Apostolic Fathers;’ Hasse, on ‘Old Testament History;’ Bleek, on ‘Introduction to the New Testament,’ on ‘Job,’ and on ‘The Synoptical Gospels;’ Sommer, on ‘Genesis;’ Nagel, on ‘The Psalms,’ and on ‘Messianic Prophecy;’ Dorner, on ‘The Old Testament Theology;’ Freitag, on ‘Hebrew Grammar.’ At GIESSEN—Knobel, on ‘Hebrew Archaeology,’ on ‘Exodus,’ and on ‘Isaiah;’ Credner, on ‘The Biblical Theology of the New Testament,’ and on ‘Church History;’ Baur, on ‘Theological Encyclopedia and Methodology,’ and on ‘The Historical Development of Messianic Expectations.’ At TUBINGEN—Baur, on ‘Christian Doctrine-History,’ and on ‘Introduction to the New Testament;’ Schmid, on ‘The Epistle to the Romans;’ Beck, on ‘Micah, Joel, and Nahum;’ Landerer, on ‘The Synoptical Gospels;’ Dillman, on ‘Historical Development of Messianic Ideas among the Israelites till the time of Christ.’ At LEIPZIG—Tuch, on ‘Isaiah,’ and on ‘The Introduction to the Old Testament;’ Theile, on ‘The Gospel of John;’ Harless, on ‘The History of Christ’s Sufferings;’ F. W. Lindner, on ‘Biblical Psychology;’ Anger, on ‘Historico-critical Introduction to the New Testament,’ ‘Biblical Theology of the Old Testament,’ and on ‘Matthew’s Gospel;’ Tischendorf, on ‘The Epistles to the Romans and the Galatians;’ W. B. Lindner, on ‘Colossians and Ephesians;’ Hänsel, on ‘The Epistles of Peter.’ At ROSROCK—Professor Delitzsch, on ‘Introduction to the Old Testament,’ on ‘The Psalms of Asaph and the Korahites,’ and on ‘The Epistle to the Hebrews;’ Bauermeister, on ‘Historico-critical Introduction to the New Testament,’ on ‘The Interpretation of the First Three Gospels,’ and on ‘John’s Epistles and the Revelation;’ Wiggers, on ‘The Interpretation of Matthew, Mark, and Luke,’ and on ‘The Epistle to the Galatians.’ At GRIERSWALD—Kosegarten, on ‘Hebrew Archaeology,’ and on ‘The Book of Job;’ Gass, on ‘The Biblical Theology of the New Testament;’ on ‘The Epistle to the Romans,’ and on ‘Doctrine-History;’ Schirmer, on ‘Galatians, Ephesians, and Philippians,’ and on ‘Theological Encyclopedia;’ Vogt, on ‘Corinthians,’ on ‘Symbolik,’ and on ‘Homiletik;’ Semisch, on ‘The Messianic passages of Genesis,’ on ‘Church History since the Reformation.’ This is all we can supply now, but we shall continue this selection in our next, for the purpose of acquainting our readers with the kind of subjects which engage the attention of German professors, and form a part of theological education in the Universities of Germany.

A reprint from the last Leipsic edition of Hahn’s Hebrew Bible is advertised in the American papers. It has been carried through the press under the supervision of two of the best Hebrew scholars in that country. It is printed on fine paper, bound in a superior manner, and altogether more attractive than the German edition of this favourite Bible.

De Wette has in the press Vol. iii. Part 2 (*Die Offenbarung Johannis*) of his *Exegetisches Handbuch zum Neuen Testament*.

The American Book Lists exhibit an unusual proportion of original works (i. e., not mere reprints of English books), but none of any importance in Sacred Literature.

THE

THE JORDAN AND DEAD SEA.—Since our last Number somewhat full particulars respecting the American exploration of the Jordan and Dead Sea have transpired. The principal source of information is from an article, from the pen of Lieut. Maury, in the (American) *Southern Literary Messenger*. We have not seen this publication; but we adopt from the American *Literary World* the following abstract of its contents:—

‘ In November, 1847, the store-ship “Supply” took out Lieuts. Lynch and Dale, and two metallic boats as transports. These boats were carried over mountain gorges and precipices by the party appointed for the expedition; and on the 8th of April, 1848, they were launched upon the Sea of Galilee.

‘ The navigation of the Jordan was found to be most difficult and dangerous from its frequent and fearful rapids. Lieut. Lynch solves the secret of the depression between Lake Tiberias and the Dead Sea by the tortuous course of the Jordan, which, in a distance of sixty miles, winds through a course of two hundred miles. Within this distance Lieut. Lynch and his party plunged down no less than twenty-seven threatening rapids, besides many others of less descent. The difference of the level between the two seas is over a thousand feet.

‘ The water of the Jordan was sweet to within a few hundred yards of its mouth. The waters of the sea were devoid of smell, but bitter, salt, and nauseous. Upon entering it, the boats were encountered by a gale, and “it seemed as if the bows, so dense was the water, were encountering the sledge-hammers of the Titans, instead of the opposing waves of an angry sea.”

‘ The party proceeded daily with their explorations, making topographical sketches as they went, until they reached the southern extremity of the sea. Having circumnavigated the lake, they returned to their place of departure, and brought back their boats in as complete order as they received them at New York. They were all in fine health.

‘ Thanks to the good management of Lieut. Lynch, the whole cost of this scientific exploration of the Dead Sea was but seven hundred dollars.

‘ From the letters of Lieut. Lynch, quoted by Lieut. Maury, we transfer the following interesting facts elicited by exploration:—

‘ “The bottom of the northern half of this sea is almost an entire plain. Its meridional lines at a short distance from the shore scarcely vary in depth. The deepest soundings thus far 189 fathoms (1128 feet). Near the shore, the bottom is generally an incrustation of salt; but the intermediate one is soft mud, with many rectangular crystals—mostly cubes—of pure salt. At one time Stellwager’s lead brought up nothing but crystals.

‘ “The southern half of the sea is as shallow as the northern one is deep; and for about one-fourth of its entire length the depth does not exceed three fathoms (18 feet). Its southern bed has presented no crystals, but the shores are lined with incrustations of salt; and when we landed at Usdum, in the space of an hour, our foot-prints were coated with crystallization.

‘ “The opposite shores of the peninsula and the west coast present evident marks of disruption.

‘ “There are unquestionably birds and insects upon the shores, and ducks are sometimes upon the sea, for we have seen them—but cannot detect any living thing within it, although the salt streams flowing into it contain fish. I feel sure that the results of this survey will fully sustain the Scriptural account of the cities of the plain.”

‘ He thus speaks of the Jordan: “The Jordan, although rapid and impetuous, is graceful in its windings and fringed with luxuriance, while its waters are sweet, clear, cool, and refreshing.”

‘ After the survey of the sea, the party proceeded to determine the height of the mountains on its shores, and to run a level thence *via* Jerusalem to the Mediterranean. They found the summit of the west bank of the Dead Sea more than one thousand feet above its surface, and very nearly on a level with the Mediterranean.

‘ “It is a curious fact,” says Lieut. Maury, “that the distance from the top to the bottom of the Dead Sea, measures the height of its banks, the elevation of the Mediterranean, and the difference of the level between the bottom [surface?] of the two seas,

seas, and that the depth of the Dead Sea is also an exact multiple of the height of Jerusalem above it."

'Another no less singular fact, in the opinion of Lieut. Lynch, "is that the bottom of the Dead Sea forms two submerged plains, an elevated and a depressed one. The first, its southern part, of slimy mud covered by a shallow bay; the last, its northern and largest portion, of mud and incrustations and rectangular crystals of salt, at a great depth, with a narrow ravine running through it, corresponding with the bed of the river Jordan at one extremity, and the Wady 'el Jeib' at the other.'"

It is added, 'The result of the level run between the Dead Sea and the Mediterranean has not yet been made public, any further than may be inferred from the statement of Lieut. Maury, that the depth of the Dead Sea measures the elevation of the Mediterranean above it. From this we may draw the conclusion that the depression of the Dead Sea, as found by this level, will not greatly vary from the measurement of Lieut. Lynch,' &c. It will be remembered that this measurement was somewhat questioned by Dr. Robinson, as well as by Carl Ritter (see our last Number); and one important result of the exploration is to solve the difficulty which led them to distrust the alleged depression of the Dead Sea, by establishing the existence of the very rapids which they found to be necessary, but of which no accounts were possessed. Nothing can more clearly show how imperfectly this region has been known than the fact that this most remarkable feature of the Jordan's course has not been disclosed till the year 1848.

The *Literary World* states that the party returned to Acre on the 9th of June, after an absence of a little over two months. They were reported as being in good health, yet such had been their exhaustion from heat and fatigue, that Lieut. Lynch felt it to be his duty to forego running a level to the Lake of Tiberias, and to get as soon as possible among the mountains. They proceeded, therefore, by way of Anti-Lebanon to Damascus, and thence to Beirut, where they arrived June 30th. At that time a number of the party were suffering from sickness; but, after a course of medical treatment for a fortnight, they were considered out of all danger. But, while waiting at Beirut for the return of their ship, Lieut. Dale, the second in command, 'an accomplished officer and engineer,' was taken ill of nervous fever, and died on the 24th of July, at the summer residence of the Rev. Eli Smith in Lebanon, to which he had been removed.

A translation from the French of the *Courrier de Constantinople*, embodying most of these particulars, appeared in the 'Times' newspaper of November 21. From this we learn that Lieut. Lynch, with some of the officers of supply, proceeded to Constantinople in the first instance, 'to obtain permission of the Ottoman Government to explore the Lake of Tiberias. This was granted, and the recommendation given by the Sultan to the different officers of the places visited, obtained for the intrepid officers every kind of assistance required. Nobody opposed the scientific research, the Arabs themselves offering their assistance, and frequently declining any remuneration for aid, often of the most valuable kind.'

LIST OF PUBLICATIONS.

ENGLISH.

- Anderson (Rev. J.)—Chronicles of the Kirk ; or, Scenes and Stories from the History of the Church of Scotland, from the Earliest Period to the Second Reformation. For the Young. 12mo. (Edinburgh), pp. 602.
- Anthony (J.)—Memoir of the Rev. Isaac Anthony, of Hertford. By the Rev. John Hayden. 8vo. (Hertford), pp. 54.
- Barnes' (A.)—New Testament, by J. Cobbin. 2 vols. 4to. ; 10 vols. 12mo.
- Bartlett (W. H.)—Forty Days in the Desert on the Track of the Israelites ; or, a Journey from Cairo by Wady Feiran to Mount Sinai and Petra. Royal 8vo. pp. 210, with plates.
- Beecher (E.)—Baptism, with reference to Import and Modes. pp. 362.
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THE GENEALOGICAL TABLES OF JESUS IN THE
EVANGELISTS MATTHEW AND LUKE.

By Dr. K. WIESELER, Professor in Göttingen,

Translated by the Rev. J. THOMSON, A.M., Leith.

It is well known that inquiries into the genealogical tree of Christ have from the earliest times led to very different results. At present controversy on this subject has almost reached its height. Some critics, for example Strauss, would have us believe that we know nothing at all of the family of the parents of Jesus except that they were Jews; and that our two Evangelists, or the ancient church, traced up the genealogical descent of Jesus to David because he had made them believe that he was the Messiah, who, according to the prophecies of the Old Testament, must be a son of David. This daring hypothesis they found upon the many contradictions and inaccuracies which they suppose they have discovered in the two tables. Others, and by far the greater part, maintain the historical credibility of these tables; at the same time, however, they bring forward their proof of this not unfrequently in such a form as renders it impossible for it to obtain the approbation of intelligent exegesis. In one word, whoever understands the state of the question will at once admit that a fresh and thorough discussion of this subject is by no means unnecessary, provided we build our theories on firm ground, and are careful to distinguish between what is essential and what is accessory.

The genealogy of any given individual is not in itself a matter of general interest ; it becomes such when it stands connected with relative historical matters belonging to himself or to others. This remark applies in a certain sense even to the genealogy of the universal-man, Jesus Christ. The connections, however, which invest that genealogy with general interest are of two kinds : first, these tables contain a fulfilment of Old Testament prophecy ; and, second, they constitute an entire essential part of the canonical gospels of Matthew and Luke, and, consequently, they bear to a greater or less extent upon the historical character of these gospels.

The first point is one which admits of easy settlement. The descent of Jesus from David is affirmed not only in our two family registers, but is attested *everywhere* in the New Testament and in the history of the Christian church. In particular the Evangelist Matthew calls him a son of David in many passages, (i. 20 ; ix. 27 ; xii. 23 ; xv. 22 ; xx. 30, 31 ; xxi. 9, 15). In the Gospel according to Luke he appears as such in i. 27, 32, 69 ; ii. 4 ; xviii. 38, 39 ; and in the Acts of the Apostles in the discourse of Peter (ii. 30), and in the discourse of Paul (xiii. 23). It is in consequence of the original design of the Gospel according to Mark, that the family register of Jesus does not occur in it ; still even here, Jesus is called a son of David (x. 47, 48). The Apostle John in like manner does not treat of the history of the childhood of Jesus. As his clearly proposed object was to influence non-Judaic readers, no mention, at least of an express kind, of the Davidic origin of Christ could be expected to occur in his gospel. He has, however, as I believe, indirectly referred to it in ch. vii. 42. This passage appears at first sight to favour the opposite view ; the contrary, however, is the case if we look at its connection. From ver. 40 the Evangelist relates the different impressions which the discourses of our Lord on the last day of the feast of Tabernacles produced on the minds of the people. In the case of many the impression produced was a very favourable one ; they looked upon him as a prophet or as the Messiah. Others had doubts as to the Messianic character of Jesus : they asked, ver. 41, 'Does the Messiah then come out of *Galilee*?' ver. 42, 'Has not the Scripture said that the Messiah comes from the seed of David, and *from Bethlehem*, the city where David was?' Ver. 42 is manifestly intended to exhibit the *grounds* of the correctness of the question expressive of doubt which is contained in ver. 41. In doing this, however, it adduces from *Scripture* two external marks of the Messiah, of which the one, his Davidic descent, has no real connection whatever with the doubt raised as to whether or not the Messiah may come from Galilee,

Galilee, and the other, the necessity of coming out of Bethlehem, stands alone exhibiting the grounds of that doubt. From this connection of the clauses, it is manifest that this first mark, which was just as *distinctly* brought into notice as the other, was not objected to as being *wanting*, and was therefore acknowledged by these doubters as actually existing in the person of Jesus. It is of great consequence to notice that even the members of the Sanhedrin, though made acquainted by their own servants with the whole circumstances that had taken place according to ver. 45, urged, according to John's own narrative (vii. 52), as the ground of their doubts, on the very *same day* nothing except the one objection that no prophet arises out of *Galilee*. Finally the advocates of the opposite view, De Wette and Strauss, have not ventured to adduce this passage of John as favourable to their sentiments.—If we regard the Apostle John as the author of the Apocalypse, we can adduce his testimony as being directly in favour of the Davidic origin of Jesus; Rev. i. 5, and preceding verses. The author certainly does not feel himself at liberty to adopt this view; we have, however, a new witness who must have lived and written *before* the destruction of Jerusalem, viz., the Presbyter John, according to the author's view, who was also a disciple* of Jesus. The Apostle Paul, who is equally well attested as having been throughout the friend and companion of the other Apostles, asserts categorically that Jesus sprang according to the flesh 'from the seed of David' (Rom. i. 3; 2 Tim. ii. 7). We have further a host of New Testament accounts of discussions before the Sanhedrin in which the Messiahship of Jesus is called in question; but in none of these do we find anything uttered which looks the least like a doubt as to his descent from David. And is it possible to suppose that this most patent, most tangible criterion of his Messiahship would not have been adverted to if it had been really wanting! We hold it superfluous still further to show that the ancient church universally from the beginning maintained strongly the descent of Jesus from the seed of David. I shall give only *one* account which, at all events, corroborates this view in an independent manner, and which, as is acknowledged by critics of every variety, bears on its forehead the mark of truth. The ancient father Hegisippus relates, according to Eusebius' narrative, that the grandchildren of Judas, brother-german to Jesus (Matt. xv. 35; Mark vi. 3), were brought to the Emperor Domitian because they belonged to the *family* of David, and were considered on that account as dangerous to him. It was only

* See the author's treatise—'The Testimony of Papias on behalf of the Presbyter John,' in the theological works of the Faculty of Kiel, 1840, p. 4.

after he had examined them in every point of view, and learned their honesty and the toilsome manner in which they earned their bread, that he set them at liberty. If, now, the *brothers* of Jesus belonged to the family of David, Jesus himself must have done so too. According to these numerous and different testimonies nothing is more sure than that Jesus was a son of David. This position is not at all dependent upon the quality of the family registers as given by Matthew and Luke; it is not dependent upon the question whether these in their *concrete* details can be proved to be throughout historical or not. On the contrary, in consequence of their being connected with the whole history of the New Testament and of primitive Christianity according to which Jesus was really a son of David, we have ascertained, previous to any consideration of their contents, that they possess *à priori* a *historical* standing.

We come now to the more difficult question, whether, and to what extent the two family-trees of Jesus are entitled to claim historical credibility as to *particular* details? If the denial of the Davidic origin of Jesus appears to transgress the rules of all sound criticism, the state of the family-trees handed down to us by the two Evangelists is undoubtedly of such a kind that, at least in the present state of our genealogical knowledge, even a cautious critic may be perplexed as to their truth in particular points. The history of exegesis^b which has proposed so many different ways of solving the problem, compels us to make this admission. Let us, however, make for once the supposition that the narratives in question contradict each other; then, on the one hand, the only consequence which could in the first instance be deduced from this would be that *one* of the two family-trees is in so far not historical; on the other hand we should have ascertained from the previous investigation that the *middle point* of *both* family-trees, the descent of Jesus from the family of David, and along with this the proof that the Old Testament prophecy relative thereto was fulfilled in Jesus, are, at all events, correct. The first consequence, however, must, on second thoughts, necessarily exert a certain influence upon the judgment we form as to the historical position of the *works* of one or of both Evangelists. We should be compelled openly to admit that, *at least in certain portions, such as the history of the childhood of Jesus*, they bear so distinctly the impress of legendary or mythical narrative, or call it what you will, that a considerable number of historical-looking names may have been *invented* or made use of in an entirely unhistorical

^b It may be considered as established by the results of present exegesis, that the 'genealogies' in the Epistles to Timothy and Titus (1 Tim. i. 4, Tit. iii. 9) cannot be referred to contests about the family-tree of Jesus.

manner on account of a *certain definite, though perhaps unconscious, tendency* on the part of the author,—in the present case for the purpose of giving a minute and full view of the family-tree of David. In making this statement we have manifestly indicated the point to which any attempt to discuss the genealogy of Christ in the most recent style of treating evangelical history directly tends, and where it touches interests which will be defended at every step by the existing theology. It is with regard to this that we shall propose our question in the following manner: Whether it is probable, or may become a matter of undoubted certainty, that the Evangelists, or Christian antiquity from which they borrowed their genealogical knowledge, have constructed the Davidic family-tree of Christ in the particular form in which they have given it to us without the necessary *historical* knowledge? By putting the question in this way we have no occasion to inquire whether the two genealogies may or may not possibly contain mistakes even in those passages in which they make a verbal addition in a way which does not admit of question, to some *patent* and *well known record*, in particular to the Old Testament, or to a tradition which has existed for a great length of time, as is the case at Matt. i. 5, with reference to Rachab, and Luke iii. 36 with reference to Kainan, which is borrowed from the Septuagint. At the same time we believe that by thus limiting the question we shall promote the interests of the matter before us; as on the other hand it is most undoubted that the question, whether and to what extent matter of a legendary or mythical character is to be found in the different Evangelists, is one which must be determined not by general positions and categories, but only by investigations of the most thorough and searching character as to *particular points*.

We inquire into the historical credibility of the genealogical tables in question: first, *in general*. A narrative is *à priori* more or less credible in proportion to the extent to which the whole work in which it occurs can lay claim to credibility. If we apply this rule to the genealogical tables in question, they can only be admitted *à priori* to stand suspected of want of credibility if the gospels in which they are given generally, or at least in the section of which they form an integral part, that is the section containing the history of the childhood of Jesus,^c bear throughout an entirely unhistorical character. In common with the whole Christian

^c It is, however, quite possible, and that too not without reason, to entertain a doubt, founded on the position of the family-tree in the Gospel according to Luke, as to whether it has been recorded *only* in connection with the history of the childhood of Jesus. The interest taken throughout the whole of that Gospel in exhibiting the descent of Jesus from David, as a proof of his Messiahship, renders the opposite *à priori* probable.

church from the beginning, we are convinced, on what appear to us to be satisfactory grounds, of the contrary of this; many proofs were enumerated by us a short time since.^d But, it may be said, the matters here narrated belong to those subjects of which the narrator himself *could* know little, and in which no one anywhere had any *interest*. These would undoubtedly be reasons which would go very far to attach suspicion to the narratives in question. But in these points the history is possessed of supports which must be considered as possessing *à priori* very great strength. Every-one acquainted with the Old Testament knows that the Israelites belonged to those nations which from the beginning laid the greatest possible stress upon their descent and genealogical tables, so much so that these were at every period most intimately connected with the most vital parts of the theocratic form of their political existence. The injurious consequences which were considered as connected, even after the captivity, with the loss of the national register are apparent, for example, from Ezra ii. 62, and Neh. vii. 64. What reason have we for taking up the idea that the family of Jesus should be so careless as to divest itself of all concern for its register? Is it not much rather certain from the nature of the thing that the most distinguished Jewish family, the royal family of David, the family on which the promise rested, should be above all others careful to preserve its family-tree? In opposition to this, however, reference has been made to a narrative given by Julius Africanus in Eusebius* (Hist. Eccles. i. vii.), that Herod, because he was himself descended from an obscure non-Judaic family in the city Askelon, *violently* destroyed the Jewish registers which were preserved in the public archives. At all events, this somewhat late narrative bears testimony to the fact that the Jews of that day put a great value upon their family registers; besides, irrespective of the consideration that it makes

^d In the treatise 'A Chronological Synopsis of the Four Gospels, a Contribution in defence of the Gospels and Gospel History, on independent principles.' Göttingen, 1843.

* Ἀναγράψαντες δὲ εἰς τότε ἐν τοῖς ἀρχείοις ὄντων τῶν Ἑβραϊκῶν γενῶν καὶ τῶν ἀρχιεπισκόπων ἀναφερομένων ὡς Ἀχὶὼρ τοῦ Ἀμμανίτου καὶ Ρούθ τῆς Μωαβίτιδος τῶν τε ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου συνεκπεσόντων ἐπιμίκτων, Ἡρώδης οὐδέν τι συμβαλλομένου τοῦ Ἰσραηλιτῶν γένους αὐτῷ καὶ τῷ συνειδῶτι τῆς δυσγενείας κρούμενος ἐνέκρησεν αὐτῶν τὰς ἀναγραφὰς τῶν γενῶν, οἰόμενος εὐγενῆς ἀναφανίσθαι, τῷ μὴδὲ ἄλλον ἔχειν ἐκ δημοσίου συγγραφῆς τὸ γένος ἀνάγειν ἐπὶ τοὺς πατριάρχας ἢ προσελύτους τοὺς τε καλουμένους γειώρας τοὺς ἐπιμίκτους. 'Up to that time the families of the Hebrews had been recorded in the archives of the nation, along with the proselytes who had joined them in ancient times, such as Achior the Ammonite, and Ruth the Moabitess, as well as those who had accompanied them out of Egypt. But Herod, who, like every person of low birth, could derive no benefit from a Jewish family, after careful examination, burned the records of their families, thinking that he would appear to be noble, in consequence of no one whatever being able from public history to trace up his family to the patriarchs or proselytes, and those called naturalised foreigners.'

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mention of the burning only of those registers which were *publicly* preserved, there are several most decisive reasons which may be adduced against its accuracy. Josephus, who was a *contemporary* of the Evangelists, is above all others deserving of being listened to. Now, he not only makes no mention whatever of the destruction of these family registers, but he *expressly* bears testimony to their existence down even to the time of the composition of his autobiography, in which he affirms that he took the sketch which he gives of his own family^f from these public records (δέλτοις δημοσίοις). At the same time the above-mentioned narrative of Africanus is, according to all the rules of criticism, entirely destitute of credibility. Meanwhile I observe that according to the Gospel of Luke (ii. 4) this same Herod, towards the end of his life, caused to be taken, or (if we are inclined to hesitate as to the credibility of that narrative, what answers our purpose equally well), was to have got taken, the census during which Jesus was born in Bethlehem, in accordance with the divisions^g of Jewish tribes and families; and that the author of the old Protevangelion of James, ch. i., takes for granted in like manner the existence in his time of public family registers.^h That at the time of Africanus there were many Jewish families who had no authentic family registers, is not only expressly affirmed by him, but is in itself extremely probable; inasmuch as along with the destruction of Jerusalem and its temple, and the termination of the Jewish power, the proper centre of unity for the Jewish nationality had long since been lost, and the people scattered over all parts of the world, must have tasted the sufferings of the most degraded slavery.ⁱ Meanwhile if that father shows himself inclined to believe the story that that late deficiency in regard to the family registers is to be dated from a destruction of their publicly preserved copies caused by Herod the Great, he adopts a manifest error which may have originated in the prejudiced efforts of the Jews to impugn the accuracy of the family tables of Christ as given by our Evangelists, or in the practice into which the Jews

^f Joseph. vit. i. § 1: τὴν μὲν οὖν τοῦ γένους ἡμῶν διαδοχὴν ὡς ἐν ταῖς δημοσίοις δέλτοις ἀναγεγραμμένην εὑρον, οὕτως παρατίθεμαι, τοῖς διαβάλλειν ἡμᾶς πειρωμένοις χαλεπὴν φράσας. 'I give the descent of our family *exactly as I find it written in the public records*, taking leave of those who endeavour to calumniate us.'

^g The author's Chronolog. Synopsis, p. 105, sq.

^h Compare Thilo, Cod. Apocryph. i. p. 166, sq. on the expression there made use of, ἡ δωδεκάφυλος.

ⁱ In Eusebius, at the above-mentioned passage. Africanus relates here that only a few of those, who were the more careful, prided themselves (ἐναβρόνουνται, *præes*.) in having been so fortunate as to restore the succession of their families either from private writings, or from memory, or from copies which had been taken from the public records. Africanus, on his part, reckons the family of Jesus among those who were so fortunate.

of later times fell of attributing to this same Herod all possible disgraceful actions. It follows that at the time when the family-trees of Jesus came into existence, it must have been quite easy to get accurate information about them, either from private records, or from public documents, or from tradition. And there could have been no want either of the will to get such information, or of occasions on which it would have been required. For what could have been more interesting to Christians, especially to the Christians of Palestine, or, indeed, to Jewish Christians generally, than to investigate and establish that Jesus whom they recognised as the Messiah, was, indeed, in accordance with Old Testament prophecy, descended from the family of David? The consideration also, which on many occasions they would be led to entertain, that their adversaries had it in their power so easily to test their assertions, must have been sufficient to guard them against rash and inaccurate attempts at proof. The suspicion, moreover, that it was the mere wish to look upon Jesus as David's son which produced the contents of the tables before us would long ere now have taken root, had it not been the case that, irrespective of these genealogies, the point was already well established that Jesus did in reality spring from the family of David. On looking conscientiously upon all these reasons, we cannot fairly be said to be adopting a preconceived opinion if we maintain that these two family-trees are entitled to be regarded as possessing *à priori* a *presumptive* claim to credibility even as regards details. We must, at the same time, be on our guard as to whether this presumptive claim is borne out by a close and searching investigation of the question in *particular* points.

As we have two different narratives of the family-tree of Jesus, the consideration of these comes within the province of the harmonist who in the most difficult questions secures himself most effectually against unwarranted and hasty conclusions by considering each of the narratives which he intends to investigate, in the first instance by itself and in its own proper connection, for the purpose afterwards of comparing it with the one to which it corresponds. Before proceeding according to this plan, we shall first briefly advert to an objection which has been urged by not a few critics against our Evangelists. It has been said, those men who deny all connection whatever between Joseph and Jesus could not possibly, without contradicting each other, have produced a genealogical tree of Joseph: those self-contradictory views and narratives are rather to be regarded as different circles of tradition which the Evangelists have placed alongside of each other without seeing the contradictions which they contained. What simpletons and fools, according to these views, must the poor Evangelists have

have been! Why should Jesus have had no legal family-tree when Joseph himself acknowledged him as his son (Matt. i. 25)? And why should he not have had a natural one, as, according to both Evangelists, he was born of the womb of the Virgin? Finally, both Evangelists, even within the compass of their genealogical tables, give us to understand that Jesus *was not the son of Joseph by natural parentage* (Matt. i. 16; Luke iii. 23). Theological prepossessions ought not to introduce contradictions into the sacred text when these in reality do not exist.

We now consider the family-tree in the Gospel of Matthew *by itself*. There can be no doubt, according to Matt. i. 16, that the family-tree given by the Evangelist is that of *Joseph*, who, according to him (comp. i. 25), was the legal father of Jesus. In order to prove the correctness of this family-tree by itself, we have at present two helps; first the narratives of the Old Testament, in so far as these exhibit the descendants of David; and second, the key given to the interpretation of the genealogy by Matthew himself, i. 17. The Old Testament parallel extends from Abraham to Zerubbabel (Matt. i. 2—13; we may compare Gen. xxi. 2; xxv. 25, 26; xxxv. 23; xxxviii. 29, 30; xli. 12; Ruth iv. 18—22; 1 Chron. iii. 1—19). With the following exceptions the different members agree exactly; between Joram and Uzziah the three members Ahaziah, Joash, and Amaziah are wanting (2 Kings viii. 24; 1 Chron. iii. 11; 2 Chron. xxii. 1, 11; xxiv. 27; xxvi. 1); and further, Jehoiakim is wanting between Josiah and Jehoiachin (ver. 11^k), whereas Jehoiakim was the son, and Jehoiachin grandson of Josiah (2 Kings xxiii. 34; xxiv. 6; 1 Chron. iii. 15, 16). Finally, it may appear striking that none of the posterity of Zorobabel enumerated in Matt. i. 13, ss. are named in 1 Chron. iii. 19, ss. On the other hand, Zorobabel is named (Matt. i. 12) the son of Shealtiel, while he appears in 1 Chron. iii. 19 as the son of Pedaiah. That he in some sense was, or was called the son of Shealtiel, appears from his contemporary, the prophet Haggai (i. 1, 12, 14; ii. 3), and also from Ezra iii. 2, 8; v. 2; Neh. xii. 1. What now is the

^k The expression *τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς* is best explained of the *uncles* of Jehoiachin, the full brothers of his father Jehoiakim (1 Chron. iii. 15), and their descendants, of some kind or other, according to a usage which occurs in the Old Testament, for example, of Abraham, in reference to his nephew Lot (Gen. xiii. 8; xiv. 16), and of Jacob, in reference to Laban (Gen. xxix. 12—15), and which was sanctioned, in regard to one of these *uncles*, in reference to his royal successor Zedekiah, in the Old Testament passage 2 Chron. xxxvi. 10. Compare 2 Kings xxiv. 17, Jerem. xxxvii. 1. That Jehoiachin had full brothers, appears to me, after the investigations of Ebrard (*Wissenschaftliche Kritik der Evangel. Geschichte*, S. 201), to be very doubtful, as the words *בְּנֵי יְהוֹיָכִין*, 1 Chron. iii. 16, are obviously, as appears from the connection, a later addition. On the other hand, I cannot with Kuinoel and Fritzsche regard the *καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς αὐτοῦ* as not genuine.

cause of these irregularities and departures from the Old Testament text? The reason cannot possibly be ignorance in the case of one who, like Matthew, is quite remarkable for the use which he makes of the Old Testament. Can it be indifference? This, in like manner, is in the highest degree improbable. Meanwhile, for the purpose of completely annihilating such a suspicion, the author, fortunately, at the conclusion of his genealogy has indicated himself the grounds of his procedure. In summing up the generations whom he had mentioned, he says, 'So all the generations from Abraham to David are fourteen generations, and from David until the carrying away into Babylon are fourteen generations, and from the carrying away into Babylon unto Christ are fourteen generations.' Thus it is very clear in the first instance that, according to the author, great stress is laid upon the circumstance that in the three mentioned periods there are named exactly fourteen generations, neither more nor less. Great difficulty, however, is experienced as to the way in which the fourteen generations are made up. From Abraham to David inclusive there are exactly fourteen generations; from David exclusive to Jehoiachin inclusive, there are again fourteen generations; but from Jehoiachin exclusive to Jesus inclusive there are only thirteen generations. The author, therefore, must have counted in some other way than we do, for no one will admit that, after he had taken the trouble to count up fourteen generations for each of the three periods, he counted wrong. I pass over the expedient of inserting Jehoiachim between Josiah and Jehoiachin, which occurs in several late MSS,^m and has been defended in recent times by Rinck.ⁿ I have as little favour for the view of Ebrard, who, in order to obtain the fourteenth generation of the third series, reckons the Mary mentioned in Matt. i. 16 as a separate generation. For it is manifest from the connection that Mary is mentioned here only for the purpose of showing that Jesus is by nature the son of Mary, and not of Joseph; and how could any one reckon father and mother as two separate generations! The genealogist, however, must have reckoned up in such a way as that at least one concluding member,^o either that of the first or of the second series, either David or Jehoiachin, was counted

^m They read—'Ἰωσὴς δὲ ἐγγένησε τὸν Ἰωακὴμ. Ἰωακὴμ δὲ ἐγγένησε τὸν Ἰεχονιάδῃ κ. τ. λ.

ⁿ 'Contested passages in the Life of Jesus,' p. 22.

^o Olshausen, Meyer, and others count *both* concluding members double, and thus obtain the following division of the family-tree: From Abraham to David inclusive, fourteen generations; from David inclusive to Josiah inclusive, fourteen generations; from Josiah inclusive to Joseph inclusive, fourteen generations. A fourth and new series in this case begins with Jesus, who stands alone. But this division is inadmissible, inasmuch as while the *ὅς* 'to' (verse 17) always includes the member which it introduces, Christ is excluded as a member standing by itself.

double

double for the purpose of bringing out his three times fourteen generations. We may designate the former view as that which is now generally adopted, according to which the second series is closed with Josiah, and the third opened with Jehoiachin. It is usual to adduce in defence of this the double mention of David (ver. 17); thus Fritzsche, De Wette, and others. Only one does not see how anything of the kind can with good reason be deduced from this verse. For on the one hand the double mention of David ('to David—from David') was necessarily demanded by the thought which it was intended to express; and, on the other hand, the removal to Babylon is in like manner doubled, and for the same reason. We rather agree with Strauss, who maintains a double reckoning of Jehoiachin, first at the conclusion of the second, and then at the commencement of the third series. This way of reckoning is proved even by ver. 17. According to this verse the second series concludes with the 'removal,' as the 'until' must *always*, for the sake of symmetry, be taken inclusively. Finally, the *μετὰ τὴν μετοικεσίαν βαβυλῶνος* 'after the removal to Babylon' (ver. 12) is expressly in favour of this construction of the 'until.' The 'removal' is therefore to be considered as a component member, and the concluding member of the second series; and consequently Jehoiachin, who here represents the captivity, must also be regarded as a component member, and as the last member of the same series. But which ever member be counted double, David or Jehoiachin, the *ἀπὸ* of the 17th verse is twice used *inclusive*, viz., before Abraham, and either before David or before the removal to Babylon, and only *once* exclusive; otherwise more than fourteen generations would be included in the series beginning with this exclusive 'from.' Last of all it is clear (and this, as far as our investigation is concerned, is a matter of some importance) that in regard to the *historical* contents of the family register before us, it is altogether a matter of indifference *which* member we consider as having been counted double by the genealogist.

A further inquiry remains: why did the genealogist fix upon fourteen generations for each of the three series into which he divided the family-tree of Jesus? The reason of this may be, and has been found, first, in the number 14 itself; second, in its composition, 2×7 ; third, in the number 42, which results from the multiplication of fourteen by three; fourth, in the circumstance that the *same* number (14) is repeated exactly *three times*; finally, that the *same* number is generally repeated in certain series, which are fixed by other reasons. In regard to the first, the number 14, which has no other importance attached to it, must, in this case, be regarded as having been selected for no other reason than that the Hebrew letters which compose the

the word David, when treated as numerals, make up fourteen. In this case we should have before us an instance of the trifling so frequently made use of by the Rabbis, an instance very obscure in itself, and one which, in the case of our Evangelist, is incapable of proof. In regard to the second, we observe that it is contrary to the text, which speaks not of twice seven, but of fourteen. As to the third, Origen found, according to his allegorical exposition of the three times fourteen generations in which Christ came, an allusion to the forty-two encampments by which the people after they had left Egypt reached the land of promise. But the text speaks neither of encampments nor of the number 42, but of three times fourteen. As to the fourth, the number 3 is no doubt a sacred one; but the question may be asked whether in this case it has not been selected for special reasons connected with the thing itself. And in reality this is the case. Along with the history of the family of David it was intended at the same time to give the epochs of the whole Israelitish history; the latter of which is so frequently, and even to the last degree, identical with the former. The threefold division, therefore, which is expressly mentioned in ver. 17, originated altogether in an internal cause: the first period is from Abraham to king David, the second from David to the Babylonish captivity, and the third and last from the Babylonish captivity to Jesus the Messiah. The two epochs within the history from Abraham to Jesus are, therefore, the time of the reign of King David, *i. e.*, the youth of the Israelitish kingdom generally, and next, the Babylonish captivity. It is for the sake of the idea referred to in this epoch that at ver. 17 we find, instead of the person of Jehoiachin, the removal to Babylon, which, for the same reason, is mentioned within the family-tree (ver. 11 and 12); for the same reason David alone is honoured with the name of king (ver. 6). It is scarcely possible to discover a synopsis, arranged into periods, of Israelitish history more strictly in accordance with facts, or entering more fully into the spirit of the history. The *internal agreement and connection*, moreover, of these three periods is intended to be indicated, according to the manner of the Hebrews, which delights in an external even in a chronological parallelism, by the *similarity* of the generations which make up these periods. But as there is in reality only a general, not a perfect correspondence, it was necessary to have recourse to an artificial construction. The period which contained the smallest number of generations was naturally laid down as a basis; because had one been selected for this purpose which contained the largest number, it would have been necessary, for the purpose of preserving the similarity of the numbers, to have added to the other periods generations originally

nally strange to the family-tree. Such a period was that from Abraham to David, which also recommended itself as being the first in point of time. As this comprehended exactly fourteen generations, according to the Old Testament, the number 14 was laid down as the fundamental number. And as the other two contained more than fourteen *years*, it was necessary to leave out of them several individual members. The explanation, therefore, is very simple why the four members,^p Ahaziah, Joash, Amaziah, Jehoiakim, are omitted, in reference to the narratives of the Old Testament, in the period from David to the Babylonish captivity. The omission of these names did not proceed from ignorance or negligence, but from design, and from the wish to exhibit a complete artificially arranged scheme. The same reason also affords the simplest explanation of another abbreviation of the family-tree. Among the descendants of Zerubbabel, quoted in Matt. i. 13, sq., there occur none of those that are recorded in 1 Chron. iii. 19, sq., while the family-tree of Zerubbabel given in Chronicles and other places, is altogether incomplete, containing, as it does, only the names of his immediate sons, and then continuing his family only through the posterity of one of these, viz. Hananiah. At the same time it may also be maintained that the Abiud mentioned by Matthew as Zerubbabel's son, is only another name for one of his sons mentioned in Chronicles different from Hananiah. On comparing the table in Matthew with the Old Testament narratives, we must hence conclude that the few points in which they differ may easily be explained by a favourite practice which the Jews at that time adopted in genealogical matters; and that this portion of the Evangelist's work exhibits in other respects deep and uniformly correct historical views, and a perfect knowledge of the events of history. We

^p The question may be asked, whether there is not also a special reason why precisely these four members are omitted? Is such a reason to be found in their ungodliness (as Lightfoot, Ebrard, and others maintain)? or is their omission simply accidental, it being necessary that some four members must be omitted in this series? Several, however (De Wette, Fritzsche, Strauss), maintain that the genealogist omitted the three members Ahaziah, Joash, and Amaziah, because he had inadvertently identified, in consequence of the similarity of the sound, the Ahaziah, who was called Ochaziah by the Septuagint, with Oziah. This supposition is neither probable in itself nor is it rendered necessary by the design of the author to exhibit exactly fourteen generations. An artificially constructed genealogy, analogous to that before us, is quoted by Schöttgen, from the Synopsis of Sohar, p. 132, n. 18:—'From Abraham to Solomon there are fifteen generations, and at that time the moon was full. From Solomon to Zedekiah there are again fifteen generations, and at that time the moon was done, and Zedekiah's eyes were put out.' Attention is here directed to the fact, that fifteen generations were twice repeated. Lightfoot, on the passage, gives several other instances of artificially arranged genealogies: in interpreting old genealogies of that date, regard must be had not to the present time and its genealogical practices, but to the requirements and the customs of the people and the time with which the genealogies to be explained are more immediately connected.

have no opportunity of judging of the correctness of the names which occur in the genealogy after Zerubbabel, by means of the Old Testament, which conveys no information whatever as to the events of this period, or by any other means except the narratives preserved by the Evangelists.

We now proceed to the consideration of the family-tree of Jesus given by the Evangelist Luke (iii. 23-38), for the purpose, in the first instance, of expounding it *by itself*. The Old Testament parallel reaches here from Adam to Nathan the son of David (ver. 31-38). For in Luke the descent of Jesus from David is not deduced through Solomon, but through Nathan. The numbers from Adam to Abraham harmonise exactly with Gen. v. xi. 10, ss.; Cainan (ver. 36) is, as we have seen, added from the Septuagint. The members from Abraham to David are the same as in Matthew. It is clear, from 2 Sam. v. 14, 1 Chron. iii. 5, xv. 4, that David had a son called Nathan. The later members of the house of Nathan are not known to us from the Old Testament, except that from Zechariah xii. 10-12 we learn that the family in later times must have been in a flourishing condition. It is decidedly a matter of importance, finally, in what manner the introductory clause of the family-tree (ver. 23) ought to be read and connected. In whatever way the words before *ὧν*⁴ may be explained, it is very obvious that the expression *ὧν υἱὸς κ. τ. λ.* qualifies the main clause *ἦν ὡσεὶ ἐτῶν τριάκοντα*. But which is the correct reading? that of the *textus recept.*, *ὧν, ὡς ἐνομίζετο, υἱὸς Ἰωσήφ τοῦ Ἠλὶ κ. τ. λ.*, which is also the reading of the Cod. A., or *ὧν υἱὸς, ὡς ἐνομίζετο, τοῦ Ἰωσήφ, τοῦ Ἠλὶ κ. τ. λ.*, which is the reading of the Cod. B. and of others? (Schulz and Lachmann)⁵. The difference between the two readings consists, on the one hand, in the position of *ὡς ἐνομίζετο*, before or after *υἱὸς*, and, on the other, in the insertion or omission of the article *τοῦ* before *Ἰωσήφ*. We unhesitatingly prefer the reading of the Cod. B. Lachmann, who weighs the external authorities, pronounces in favour of the same view which we adopt in his last large edition, whereas the reading of the *textus recept.* stands in his small edition. We must notice the incongruity of not admitting the article *τοῦ* before *Ἰωσήφ*, which is connected externally and internally with his reading. It is further to be observed that the same Cod. B., which we follow *here*,

⁴ Compare the author's Synopsis, p. 123. Here I defend the reading, *καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν, ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἀρχόμενος ὡσεὶ ἐτῶν τριάκοντα*, in the sense, 'And he was, namely Jesus, at the beginning, about thirty years old.'

⁵ The reading of some Cod., *ὡς ἐνομίζετο εἶναι υἱὸς Ἰωσήφ*, is at all events a correction.

⁶ In addition to the authorities mentioned by David Schulz in favour of our reading, may be mentioned Julius Africanus, as given by Eusebius. The latter cites the passage of Luke literally thus:—*ὁ δὲ Λουκᾶς ἀνάπαυ' ὅς ἦν (= ὧν) υἱὸς, ὡς ἐνομίζετο (καὶ γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο προστίθησι) τοῦ Ἰωσήφ τοῦ Ἠλὶ κ. τ. λ.* He thus read the article *του* before *Ἰωσήφ*.

contains the correct reading of the preceding words, placing the *ἀρχόμενος* before *ὥστε ἱσὼν τριάνοντα* (comp. p. 17, n. 2). It may be established, on the following internal reasons, that the article ought to be placed before *Ἰωσήφ*. If the article be wanting before *Ἰωσήφ*, the following *τοῦ* cannot naturally be considered in any other light than as qualifying the immediately preceding *Ἰωσήφ*, and so on through all the numbers of the family-tree, so that the *τοῦ* before *θεοῦ* can in like manner be considered only as qualifying the *Ἀδάμ*. I must, however, seriously doubt whether a Monotheist would write *Ἀδάμ ὁ θεοῦ* in the specific sense: Adam, whose being proceeded directly from God, who was created by God. It is the circumstance that the noun which stands in the genitive is not a *man* but *God* that occasions the difficulty. At least, if that thought were intended to be expressed by itself, any one would expect that *υἱός* or some similar term would be expressly added. Any one, for example, would explain the expression, *ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἦν τοῦ θεοῦ*, *Jesus stood in the closest connection with God*, not *Jesus descended from God*. This latter sense is rendered the more natural one in the passage before us by the words occurring in a family-tree. And no unprejudiced person will deny that the expression is still awkward and hard enough. The question therefore may be asked, Is no other easier construction possible? This is the case if we consider as genuine the reading *τοῦ Ἰωσήφ*, which is at least equally well supported as the other. For in this case we would consider all the genitives from *τοῦ Ἰωσήφ* as co-ordinate with each other, and dependent upon *υἱός*: *being a son^t (a descendant) of Joseph, of Eli,, of Adam, of God*. And if *υἱός* can be supplied to the expression *τοῦ θεοῦ* from the preceding context, every difficulty is removed. The importance of our reading, which has not hitherto been sufficiently attended to, in regard to the decision of our genealogical question, will be better seen after we have compared with each other the two family-trees which we have considered apart.

On comparing the two family-trees, the first thing that strikes us is that the family-tree of Jesus in Matthew is carried up only to Abraham, while that in Luke is carried up to Adam, and even to God. Matthew himself (i. 1) announces the design of his family-tree. It is to show that Jesus Christ was the son of David, the son of Abraham; that is, that Christ in regard to his descent was the Messiah according to Old Testament prophecy, and was intended in the first instance for the posterity of Abraham, or the Jews. His form of the family-table is in accordance with the fact, which is also established on other grounds, that his Gospel was designed for Jewish Christians. When Luke, on the other hand, shows that

^t The general sense of *υἱός*, *descendant*, is sufficiently well known from the Old Testament; still we may compare the expressions *υἱός Δαυὶδ*, *υἱός Ἀβραάμ*, which can scarcely be interpreted of an immediate sonship.

Jesus, the son of David, was the son of Adam, or of the man from whom all others descend, and consequently the son of God, he intends to intimate that Jesus in respect of his descent is the Messiah, and intended for *all* the children of Adam, according to a purpose formed by God himself when he created this Adam. Luke proclaims the announcement of Paul the Apostle of the Gentiles (1 Tim. ii. 4): It is the will of God "that *all* men be saved and come to the knowledge of the truth." The universal aspect of his Gospel shines forth in his family-table. We thus see that the form of the two family-trees results from the whole spirit of the Gospels in which they occur.

Another difference is that the family-tree in Matthew is artificially divided into three periods of fourteen generations, while that in Luke runs straight on without any such division. Even this division might be more agreeable to Jewish than to Grecian taste. Some people, however, have thought that they discovered in Luke a similar relation of numbers. If we count the numbers mentioned by him from Jesus inclusive to God inclusive, we obtain seventy-seven, that is^a exactly *seven* times eleven members. We may venture, on very good grounds, to consider this number as accidental. For not to mention that God can scarcely be considered as standing entirely in the same position as the other members, the number seventy-seven as a whole is by no means an important number; and there is no trace whatever in the plan of the family-tree, direct or indirect, that in the passage before us it is divided into eleven single hebdomades. This view would scarcely have been taken up had it not been occasioned by the constant comparison of the family-tree in Luke with that in Matthew, with which, however, the number seven has nothing to do. So far the comparison of the two family-trees occasions in reality no difficulty. The difficulty originating from their comparison consists rather entirely in this, that the two family-tables agree literally only the length of David, and that from him downwards to Joseph and Jesus they seem to separate altogether from each other; the family

^a Thus also Strobel: 'An attempt towards a Scriptural understanding of the family register of Jesus,' in the periodical for general Lutheran theology, by D. Rudelbach and D. Guericke, 1840, pt. iii. p. 5, sq. On the supposition that the genealogy is constructed upon the number seven, he bases his whole theory,—a theory which is peculiar to himself, and which is, we must add, in the highest degree unfortunate,—that Luke, for the sake of the number seven, introduced into his family-tree the five members, which originally did not belong to it, viz. God, Cainan (or 36), Shealtiel, Zerubbabel, the three last of which may have been borrowed from the family-tree in Matthew. These were added 'in form,' or 'in name,' for they had no connection whatever with the family the history of which was to be detailed;—tricks upon which one cannot spend a thought, and the credibility of which is opposed even by the text itself. To shorten a family-tree, and to lengthen it by *false* members, are two very different things: of the former there are many examples among the Hebrews; while the latter is unknown in any writer who possesses a knowledge of his subject and is in its very nature inconceivable.

of Jesus in Matthew being carried down through Solomon and his posterity, and that in Luke through Nathan and his posterity, and consequently through names entirely different. How can the family-tree of the *same* individual from David downwards be thus different, and be correct both times? This is the peculiar problem presented for the consideration of the harmonist of our genealogical tables. Towards the solution of it some progress has we trust been made in the preceding observations; the solution, however, has been not unfrequently disturbed, rendered difficult, or hindered, by the influence of other questions, to which we shall shortly advert.

It is obvious from ch. i. 16, that Matthew gives us the family-tree of *Joseph*; and it is only necessary to determine whether the genealogy in Luke is also that of Joseph or that of Mary. The family-tree of Jesus must be carried up either through Joseph the father, or through Mary the mother; there are therefore only two possible cases in solving the above problem: first, it is the family-tree of Joseph that we have in Luke as well as in Matthew; second, while Matthew gives the family-tree of Joseph, we have in Luke the family-tree of Mary. Both suppositions have in reality been adopted. We shall consider, in the first instance, the former supposition, according to which we have before us two family-trees of Joseph; at the same time observing, that from the time of Julius Africanus till the present day this supposition has possessed altogether a traditionary character.

For the purpose of enabling us to get a documentary view of the problem, we shall set down in the form of a table the members from David downwards, as given by Matthew and Luke:—

MATTHEW.	LUKE.	MATTHEW.	LUKE.
1. Solomon.	1. Nathan.	6. Asor.	23. Rhesa.
2. Rehoboam.	2. Matthatha.	7. Zadoc.	24. Johanna.
3. Abijah.	3. Mainan.	8. Achim.	25. Juda.
4. Asa.	4. Melea.	9. Eliud.	26. Joseph.
5. Jehosaphat.	5. Eliakim.	10. Eleazar.	27. Semei.
6. Jehoram.	6. Jonan.	11. Matthan.	28. Mattathias.
7. Uzziah.	7. Joseph.	12. Jacob.	29. Maath.
8. Jotham.	8. Juda.	13. Joseph.	30. Nagge.
9. Ahaz.	9. Simeon.	14. Jesus.	31. Esli.
10. Hezekiah.	10. Levi.		32. Nahum.
11. Manasseh.	11. Matthat.		33. Amos.
12. Ammon.	12. Jorim.		34. Mattathias.
13. Josiah.	13. Eliezer.		35. Joseph.
14. Jechoniah.	14. Jose.		36. Janna.
(<i>Babylonish Cap-</i>	15. Er.		37. Melchi.
<i>tivity.</i>)	16. Elmodam.		38. Levi.
1. Jechoniah.	17. Kosam.		39. Matthat.
2. Salathiel.	18. Addis.		40. Heli.
3. Zorobabel.	19. Melchi.		41. Joseph (<i>ὡς ἐρα-</i>
4. Abiud.	20. Neri.		<i>μύ(ε)ρο).</i>
5. Eliakim.	21. Salathiel.		42. Jesus.
	22. Zorobabel.		

As, according to the supposition which we have first to investigate, the family-tree of Joseph is given by Luke as well as by Matthew, it is necessary to explain how Joseph, according to Matthew, descended from one father, and so on up to David or Zorobabel, from one set of ancestors; but according to Luke, who tells us that Joseph's father was Heli, from another father and another set of ancestors. It is necessary further to inquire, whether the Salathiel and Zorobabel mentioned in both family-trees are, as is frequently maintained, the same persons or not? and if they are, how it comes to pass that their ancestors, too, as far up as David, have entirely different names? We shall in the first instance illustrate the former point, which is also the more important of the two.

There are two ways of getting quit of the difficulty under the above-mentioned supposition, that the family-tree of Joseph is given both times. Recourse has been had to the hypothesis of a widow marrying the brother of her late husband, or to that of adoption. Julius Africanus, in Eusebius, is in favour of the former hypothesis. He supposes that Heli, whose brother is the Jacob mentioned by Matthew, married and died without leaving children; that consequently this his brother Jacob married his widow, for the purpose of raising up to him seed (Deut. xxv. 5-10). Joseph, the legal father of Jesus, he conceives sprang from this marriage; by law he was the son of Heli, and by nature the son of Jacob. Luke may have hence given the legal, and Matthew the natural family-tree of Joseph. The reverse has also been maintained, which, as far as regards the common difficulties that have called forth the hypothesis, comes to the same thing, viz., that Matthew has the legal and Luke the natural family-tree of Joseph; and that therefore it is not Jacob but Heli that is the brother-in-law. But still if Jacob and Heli were full brothers or cousins, their family-tree upwards must have been the same. For the purpose of helping to get out of this difficulty, it has been conjectured that they were only step-brothers, and that too by the mother's side, so that their fathers may have belonged to entirely different families. In this form the whole hypothesis is so completely complicated, that it appears very improbable. Besides it is not at all established, nay, it appears to me, according to the spirit of the law, to be extremely doubtful that the step-brother on the mother's side was under any obligation to marry his step-brother's widow. And though this were established, the son by this marriage (according to Gen. xxv. 6) could be placed only in the *legal* family-tree. In order to explain how he could be placed also in the natural family-tree, it would be necessary finally to concede that the genealogist who furnished the latter was either himself ignorant of this marriage

riage with a brother-in-law, or designedly kept out of view its legal consequences. The hypothesis of adoption is a much simpler one. If Joseph was adopted either by Jacob or by Heli, his natural and his legal family-tree would of course be entirely different; only the circumstance of Joseph occurring in both family-trees is attended again with difficulties. In want of a better explanation, we would hence keep by this hypothesis, provided we were satisfied on sufficient grounds as to the credibility of the family-trees.

We turn now to those who maintain that in Luke we have the family-tree not of *Joseph* but of *Mary*. It is at once evident that according to this view, which at present is not unfrequently defended, every difference between Matthew and Luke disappears at once, without its being necessary to have recourse to any hypothesis whatever. The only point therefore for consideration is, Does the text of Luke permit or demand this view?

The *τοῦ* before *Ἡλίου* one would say might naturally be used of a son-in-law: Jesus was a son as was supposed of Joseph, who was a son-in-law of Heli, who was a son of Matthat, who was a son of Levi, &c. In this case Heli would really be the father of Mary, and the genealogy given by Luke would be that of the latter. Now, according to strict grammar, it has long been observed that the article with the genitive of a proper name, which is added to another proper name, ought not, as the early grammarians empirically asserted, to be supplemented by the expression *υἱός*, or such like; that in this case nothing is to be supplied at all, but that the second genitive with the article expresses the whole idea; that the formula denotes an intimate relation and connection between two persons which may be closer or more distant; and that hence the relation of a friend, for example, in the well-known expression *Eusebius Pamphili*, ordinarily however the nearest relation of connection, or that of a son and child, may be what was intended to be expressed. There can be no doubt, therefore, that the *τοῦ* *Ἡλίου* may in itself denote the relation of a son-in-law. This construction of the expression, however, is not a natural one, and it is absolutely excluded by the immediate connection. It is impossible that in a family-table, in which only real or legal ancestors are introduced, any importance should be attached to the mere relation of *affinity*; and it is in the highest degree unlikely that the *τοῦ* should be used upwards of seventy times of the proper relations of a son, and once of the relation of a son-in-law. If we connect immediately the *τοῦ* with the preceding *Ἰωσήφ*, and at the same time keep by the supposition that it is the family-tree of Mary that is given, it would be better to have recourse to the hypothesis which assumes that Joseph, the son-in-law, is at the same time the legal son of Heli; in this case,

this τοῦ would be explained in the same way as those which follow. It was in this way that the hypothesis advanced by Epiphanius, Olshausen, and others originated, that Mary was an heiress, that is, one who had no brothers, whose husband according to the law (Num. xxxvi. 6; Neh. vii. 63; comp. Ezra ii. 61) must belong to the same family and be introduced into her family register. A very ingenious conjecture! Irrespective, however, of the fact that the quality of Mary as an heiress cannot be proved, and that we generally are in utter ignorance as to whether the law in regard to an heiress continued to be observed till the time of Jesus, it would again be remarkable that the same Joseph should occur also in the family-tree of Matthew, more especially as this evangelist, if he knew of it, would have been the first to pay regard to this Jewish custom. After all, this whole hypothesis very fortunately is unnecessary as far as we are concerned, inasmuch as we have already seen that the τοῦ before Ἡλὶ does not qualify Ἰωσήφ, but that the genitive τοῦ Ἡλὶ is *immediately* dependent on υἱός, and is thus co-ordinate with Ἰωσήφ.

The correctness of this explanation, and at the same time the necessity of holding that Luke has given the family-tree of Mary, will become still further evident after we have ascertained the exact import of ὡς ἐνομίζετο. We have already seen (p. 210), that this clause ought to be read according to the Codd. after υἱός. Before υἱός it would indeed give no sense. For rightly construed, it would in this case refer to the *whole* family-table; and its import would be that this family-table could be applied to Jesus only *popularly* and *erroneously*. To exhibit as legitimate a family-tree which in the same sentence, as is expressly affirmed, is considered, only erroneously, to be a correct one, would be such a blunder as never saw its equal. On behalf of the assertion that such absurdities are not uncommon in the Evangelists, it will not do to appeal for the sake of example to the genealogy in Matthew on the ground that the family-tree of Joseph is there given, while at the same time it is added (ver. 16) that Jesus was not the son of Joseph, but the son of Mary. For the explanation is *immediately* given (Matt. i. 24, 25) why the family-tree of Joseph is recorded, viz. that Joseph recognized Jesus as his legal son. Had Luke intended, as Matthew did, to give the legal family-tree of Jesus, instead of ὡς ἐνομίζετο, *as was thought, regarded*, he would have written some such phrase as ὃν κατὰ νόμον υἱὸς Ἰωσήφ, κ. τ. λ. If, however, we are compelled on internal evidence to reject the position of the ὡς ἐνομίζετο before υἱός, and to adopt the other reading, which is supported by particularly clear evidence, υἱὸς ὡς ἐνομίζετο, every unprejudiced reader, partly on the *logical* ground just mentioned, and partly because he has already learned from

from the two first chapters of this *same* Gospel of Luke that Jesus was in reality not the son of Joseph but the son of Mary, will refer the *ὡς ἐνομίζετο* only to one, and that the first member of the family-tree τοῦ Ἰωσήφ. Luke intends to say: inasmuch as he (Jesus) was a son, as was *supposed* (but in reality of Mary), of Heli, &c. Instead of *ὡς ἐνομίζετο τοῦ Ἰωσήφ*, he might have added also *τῆς Μαρίας*; but he preferred expressly contradicting the common idea that Jesus was the real son of Joseph. From this construction of the verse the consequence necessarily follows that Luke gives the family-tree of Mary, and that Heli is to be regarded as her father.—In what follows we shall defend this position, which is so decidedly in favour of our question, against certain objections, and shall confirm it by several other reasons.

The only one of the objections adduced which has not been examined is, that no regard was paid in Jewish genealogies to the female line. That it was not so ordinarily is quite correct.² But that the family of the mother was never and nowhere recorded is altogether false.³ And an exception to this rule must necessarily exist in the case before us, in which Jesus, whose family-tree it is intended to give, is admitted to have had no human father. It is evident from Luke's own Gospel (Luke i. 32; comp. ver. 35) that that evangelist does not conceive that there is any contradiction between Jesus being descended from David and having no human father of his own.

Having set aside this objection, we now proceed to the other reasons which go to prove that Luke intended to give the family-tree of Mary. 1. When we meet with two different family-trees of one and the same person, the supposition which at first we are most naturally led to entertain, if we have not *à priori* strong suspicions as to their credibility, is that this difference ought to be explained by the one being the family-tree of the father and the other that of the mother. And as the family-tree in Matthew is undoubtedly that of Joseph the legal father of Jesus, the one in Luke will be considered as that of Mary his mother. 2. Jesus, as the son of Joseph, was the son of David according to law; as the son of Mary, he was so according to nature. Jesus therefore was not only according to law but also according to nature of the seed

² *Bava Bathra*, fol. 110, a: Genus patris vocatur genus, genus matris non vocatur genus: the family of the father is called a family, the family of the mother is not called a family. Comp. Lightfoot on Matt. chap. i. 16.

³ *Bereschith*, R. 30: Ego assurrexi ei, qui ipse de Juda, ego vero de Benjamin; et ipse ex masculis Juda ego vero ex feminis: 'I rose up to him who am from Judah, and I from Benjamin; and he from the males of Judah, I from the females.' Especially compare the life of the contemporary Josephus: ὑπάρχω δὲ καὶ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ γένους ἀπὸ τῆς μητρὸς: 'I am descended from the royal family by the mother's side.'

of David, to which the promise belonged. Even the choice made by the Evangelists between these two genealogies of Jesus, either of which would have been admissible, is most intimately connected with the spirit and character of their gospels. Matthew, as we have seen, has not only constructed his family-tree in accordance with the wants of the Jewish mind, but he also exhibits the descent of Jesus from David by the family of his legal father, because in Jewish family-trees the greatest importance was attached to the family of the father. The anti-Judaic design of the family-tree in Luke moreover is obvious, not only from the absence of these marks, but also emphatically from the presence of criteria of an opposite kind; and more especially from this, that the descent of Jesus from David is exhibited in the way of nature through his mother Mary. In intimate connection with this is the fact that Matthew, in his history of the childhood of Jesus, gives great prominence to the apparent acting of Joseph and Mary in concert; while in Luke, on the other hand, Mary has more the appearance of acting alone. 3. Mary, in the Gospel according to Luke, is exhibited by all traces, irrespective even of this family-tree, as belonging to the family of David. This appears indirectly even from Luke ii. 4, 5. Strauss uses this passage as the strongest argument against the Davidic descent of Mary. He says in the second edition of the Life of Jesus (vol. i. p. 165): 'the clause, Luke ii. 4, ἀνέβη δὲ καὶ Ἰωσήφ, διὰ τὸ εἶναι αὐτὸν ἐξ οἴκου καὶ πατρὸς Δαυὶδ ἀπογράφασθαι σὺν Μαριάμ κ. τ. λ., when instead of αὐτὸν the author could so easily have written αὐτοῦς if he had entertained a single thought as to the descent of Mary from David, is decisive against the possibility of referring the genealogy of Luke to Mary.' It is not conceivable how αὐτοῦς could have been placed here instead of αὐτὸν, as in this case the construction of the passage must have been altogether different. Instead of ἀνέβη δὲ καὶ Ἰωσήφ, Luke would have written ἀνέβησαν δὲ καὶ Ἰωσήφ καὶ Μαρία. But while no inference can be drawn from the αὐτὸν, the verse itself proves we believe the descent of Mary from David. The census at that time was taken according to families; and it was only the descendants of David that had to assemble in Bethlehem (Luke ii. 4). Now as Mary went to Bethlehem, and as the woman, according to the principles of a foreign census, occupied an *independent footing*,* she must have been a member of the family of David. Luke i. 27, however, is still more decisive (comp. i. 69). The question is asked, with what is ἐξ οἴκου here to be construed, with ἀνδρὶ ᾧ ὄνομα Ἰωσήφ, or with the preceding παρθένον? Strauss and others are in favour of the reference to the ἀνδρὶ ᾧ ὄνομα Ἰωσήφ,

* See the author's Synopsis, p. 108.

because

because this is the nearest noun. But in point of construction, the reference to παρθένον also is possible ;^a and indeed, as far as the thought is concerned, is much more natural than the other.

According to the character of the history of the childhood of Jesus by Luke, it was necessary that the author should take more pains in narrating the descent of the main person in it, Mary, than that of Joseph. This remark applies especially to the paragraph of the annunciation of Mary, which is introduced by the words which we are now considering (Luke i. 26, 27). And how can it be conceived that he who had noted the family of Elizabeth (Luke i. 5) should suffer to pass unnoticed the family of *Mary*! Luke i. 32, however (comp. ver. 35), may be pronounced to be altogether decisive. In the first mentioned of these verses *David* is termed the father of Jesus ; and yet in room of the human father of Jesus, according to verse 35, his immediately divine origin must be introduced. This in connection with the Gospel of Luke can in reality mean nothing else than that Jesus, according to him, was connected with the family of David through his *mother* Mary. 4. Even tradition speaks in general of the descent of Mary from David. Strauss himself confesses this (vol. i., p. 162) : ‘ the theory of the Davidic descent of Mary soon (!) became common.’ He then quotes from the apocryphal writings, Protevangelion of James, c. i. and x., and the Gospel of the Nativity of Mary, according to which those persons designated as the parents of Mary, Joachim and Anna, belonged to the family of David ; he next quotes Justin Martyr, according to whom the Virgin descended from the family of David, Jacob, Isaac, and Abraham. More particularly, however, for the purpose of supporting a certain misunderstood theological view, for the purpose of finding in the descent of Jesus his kingly and priestly dignity, the idea was formed that Jesus belonged to a mixed family of the seed of Judah and Levi (Testament of Simeon c. 71, and above) ; and in later times, in consequence of an interpretation of Luke i. 36, which cannot be proved to be correct, the opinion became current that Mary was a *relative* (συγγενής) of Elizabeth, who was a daughter of Aaron’s. On the contrary, even Jewish tradition^b asserts that the Heli mentioned by Luke was the father of Mary. —We hope that we have proved satisfactorily enough that Luke gives not the family-tree of Joseph, but that of Mary, who how-

^a This connection had already been indicated by the philologist Lachmann, by the punctuation which he adopted : πρὸς παρθένον ἐμνηστευμένην ἀνδρὶ, ᾧ ὄνομα Ἰωσήφ, ἐξ οἴκου Δαυὶδ, καὶ τὸ ὄνομα τῆς παρθένου Μαρίας : to a virgin espoused to a man, whose name was Joseph, of the house of David, and the name of the virgin was Mary.

^b Compare Lightfoot on Luke iii. 23.

ever also descended from the family of David ; and in this case it is altogether in order that the family-trees in Matthew and in Luke should on the one hand not be identical, and on the other should run together previous to David.

It makes a little difference if, as has been maintained, the Salathiel and the Zorobabel in Matthew and Luke are the same persons. In this case it would still be necessary to explain how the two family-trees could separate after these names to unite again in David. In favour of their identity it may be urged that the Salathiel of Luke happens to be removed from David by just about as many members as the Salathiel of Matthew ; for the former reckoning from David, is the twenty-first member, and the latter the fifteenth ; and therefore (if we reckon the four names which were designedly omitted) the nineteenth. The problem to be solved therefore is this : in two different family-trees, somewhere about the same time, the time of the captivity, there are two persons called Salathiel, each of which has a son called Zorobabel. At the same time, if we hold them to be identical, we must renew the hypothesis of the marriage of a brother-in-law or that of adoption, with all its inconveniences. These inconveniences, however, are much better and more tolerable than is the assertion of modern critics as to the want of credibility of the family-trees on account of this inconceivable identity. But this supposed identity never can be established. What is there remarkable in the circumstance^c that two persons of the same name should follow each other in two different though allied lines somewhere about the same time ? There is nothing very remarkable in the names, and there is still less in the analysis of these names. There were, we must say, accidentally about the same time two Salathiels. Let us, instead of this, write down one of our own common names, two Theodores or two Gotthilfs ; this is quite a common thing. Each of these men had a son who bore the surname Zorobabel—that is, born in Babylon זָרְעָ בָּבֶל. Even this *surname* is very natural, inasmuch as they were really born, as we know, during the *Babylonish captivity*. The pair of Salathiels and Zorobabels might indeed be identical as regards their *name*. Matthew, however, and Luke at the same time, give their ancestors and their posterity ; these each time have altogether different names ; according to Matthew, they belong to the family of Solomon ; according to Luke, to that of Nathan : consequently they cannot possibly be identical. Such a transposition as modern criticism imagines can only be maintained if, on the one hand, we are already satisfied that the genealogies before us are throughout unworthy of credit,

^c Compare Paulus, *Exeget. text book*, 1 Part, p. 282 ss.

of the contrary of which we have seen there is satisfactory evidence ; and if, on the other hand, we give Luke the credit of being possessed of so little knowledge of the *Old Testament* that he could incorporate his Salathiel and Zorobabel with the house of Nathan, although in reality, as any one acquainted with Old Testament history would have told him, they belonged to that branch of the family of David which descended from Solomon. The older critics, such as Julius Africanus and others, hence universally maintained that the two names in question were those of different individuals. Strauss is of the contrary opinion (vol. i., p. 164) : ‘ When we consider the *fame* of Zerubbabel, the son of Shealtiel, at the time of the captivity, it is scarcely credible that Luke by the expression could refer to any other person than to him.’ Yes, Luke ! who himself, as we have seen, says exactly the opposite. A truly strange consequence of this canon of fame it is, when Bruno Bauer identifies the four names which follow each other, Levi, Simeon, Judah, and Joseph (Luke iii. 29, 30) with the well-known sons of Jacob ; and Amos and Nahum (ver. 25) with the well known prophets ; and from this very apparent combination, forms his conclusion as to the credibility of our family-tree.—This is what is called *historical criticism*.

We now draw the result of our investigation. Both family-trees, the one in Matthew as far as Zerubbabel, and the one in Luke as far as Nathan, show an intimate knowledge and a careful use of Old Testament narratives. We are at present altogether destitute of any independent authority by which to examine the names which occur after these ; but their entire difference from each other is explained by the supposition which is confirmed by the text itself, and by the connection of the corresponding evangelists, that Matthew gives the family-tree of Joseph, the legal *father* of Jesus, and Luke that of Mary his *mother*. There is hence not only no contradiction between their mutual testimony, but they bear even in particular points manifold traces of authenticity. The *general* reasons to which we adverted in our introductory remarks become hence possessed of great power. These led us to expect a historically guaranteed view of the family-tree of Jesus, and certainly not such a one as was fabricated within the Christian Church, either intentionally or unintentionally, out of the fictions of tradition.

CALVIN AS A COMMENTATOR.

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IT has been, at least in some respects, a misfortune to the interests of biblical learning that the name of the great reformer of Geneva has been always associated with a certain system of doctrines, and with the adherents of that system. With the correctness or incorrectness of those doctrinal views, which even in the lifetime of Calvin acquired the name of Calvinism, we are not now concerned. The *Journal of Sacred Literature* is not, we conceive, a fit place for the discussion of such questions. But the writer of the *Institutes* certainly has other claims on the attention and gratitude of succeeding generations than those which arise from his researches into systematic theology; and these claims have been not unfrequently passed by or depreciated just in proportion as the others have been brought prominently into view. The world-wide fame of Calvin rests principally, almost exclusively, on the systematic form in which he arranged the doctrines of the Christian religion. How few comparatively amongst biblical students of the present day know anything of Calvin as a commentator, and how much smaller was even that small number fifteen or twenty years ago? Indeed, until within that period, it was scarcely possible that it should be otherwise, at least in this country. The works of Calvin were rarely to be obtained except in a set of expensive folio volumes. The labours of an earlier generation in rendering the *Commentaries* of Calvin into English had lost their effect both on account of the scarcity of the translations themselves, and the obsolescence of the style in which they were written. It is to the theologians of Germany that the honour is due of having called back the attention of the Christian world to the exegetical writings of the early reformers, and especially to those of Calvin. 'To Lücke,' says Professor Tholuck, 'belongs the honour of having first referred, in the department of exegesis, to Luther, Beza, Calvin, Camerarius, and many other excellent interpreters of the period of the Reformation. He was followed by the writer of these pages (Professor Tholuck) in his *Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans*. Pointed, as he was, on the one hand, by Neander to the ancient ecclesiastical fathers, and on the other by the newly awakened interest in the period of the Reformation to the fathers of the evangelical church, he supposed he could do nothing more useful for the exegesis of the New Testament, than to give an
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antepast of these exegetical works to his more youthful contemporaries, in copious select extracts, and thus excite an interest in these noble products of a sound Christian spirit. And especially he found himself compelled duly to acknowledge the great exegetical talent of Calvin, and to recommend him as a model. That he attained his object is proved by the exegetical works of Rheinwald, Gebser, Hengstenberg, Boechmer, and Pelt, all of which are composed with a faithful use of the treasures of exegetical literature contained in the early fathers, and in those of the Reformation, and more especially in the works of Calvin. Winer, too, who did not even mention Calvin in the first edition of his Commentary on the Galatians, gives the following testimony in the third:—‘Calvinus miram in pervidenda Apostoli mente subtilitatem, in exponenda perspicuitatem probavit.’^a In the year 1831 Professor Tholuck published at Halle an edition of Calvin’s Commentaries on the Epistles of Paul, and at the same time wrote the article on the merits of Calvin as an interpreter of the Holy Scriptures, from which we have quoted above, and which appeared in the *Literarischer Anzeiger* for July, 1831, Nos. 41—43. The success of this enterprise, in which Tholuck was aided by some pious English friends, was very remarkable; fifteen hundred copies were sold within the space of two years, and an edition of the Commentaries on the whole New Testament was forthwith set on foot in Berlin and was completed under the care of Tholuck, in 7 vols. 8vo. in the years 1833 and 1834. This was followed by a reprint of the Commentary on the Psalms, also under the care of Tholuck, and that on the Book of Genesis edited by Hengstenberg, so that the most valuable part of the exegetical writings of the great Genevan reformer are now accessible at a comparatively small cost to every biblical student. Nor has our own country been backward to imitate the example of our German brethren. In the year 1843 a society was established in Scotland for the publication of English translations of Calvin’s works. Under the auspices of this society, besides other works of Calvin, there have already appeared his Commentaries on the Psalms, the Minor Prophets, Harmony of the Gospels, Gospel of John, Acts, Romans.

It would be injustice to our own countrymen not to say that many of our ablest biblical scholars have fully recognized the merits of Calvin as a commentator. We may quote two or three. Bishop Horsley says: ‘I hold the memory of Calvin in high veneration; his works have a place in my library, and in the

^a *Calvin as an Interpreter*, by Prof. Tholuck; translated by Leonard Woods, jun., *Bib. Repository*, No. VII., July, 1832, p. 541.

study of the Scriptures he is one of the commentators whom I most frequently consult.' Rev. W. D. Conybeare adds his own testimony to that of his brother, the Rev. J. J. Conybeare, in the following terms: 'It was the axiom of that most amiable and truly Christian scholar Melancthon, that the Scriptures could not possibly be *theologically* understood, until their *grammatical* sense were first correctly ascertained. Luther expressed similar opinions, with his usual energy; and the judgment of his fellow-labourer in the great cause, Calvin, is sufficiently exemplified in his elaborate volumes of Commentaries upon many portions of Scripture—"Commentaries," as it has been most justly observed, "which (though in the exercise of our Christian liberty we may freely question and dissent from many points, both of doctrine and discipline, maintained by their illustrious author) are yet never to be perused without admiration and instruction, or mentioned without respect and gratitude."'^b Dr. J. P. Smith speaks of Calvin as a writer 'whose fine judgment and noble impartiality as an expositor have drawn the admiration of many, who differ from some of his distinguishing sentiments.'^c The increased interest which Calvin's exegetical works have excited in our own country is strikingly shown by the fact that Dr. Bloomfield, who barely mentions Calvin's name in the preface to the first edition of his Greek Testament, refers in a note of the preface to the third edition to his Commentary on the Epistles of St. Paul, as that 'to which, for profundity of thought, and able investigation of the logic or course of reasoning of the sacred writers,—for spirituality of sentiment, and deep knowledge of the "mind of the Spirit," must ever be assigned the *first* place—qui, optimis omnium temporum interpretibus annumerandus, mira sagacitate profundissimas quasque cogitationes assequi, et inter diversas diversorum interpretationes felicissimè maxime probabilia eligere solet; simulque ita est elegans, ut non minore cum voluptate quam utilitate legatur. Pelt, Præf. ad Thessal. p. 43.'^d It is refreshing thus to find that the writings of the men who were engaged in the actual earnest strife with that corrupted form of Christianity which claimed to have paramount and sole authority, and from the trammels of which they had themselves broken, are again perused with interest by Protestants—and if amongst them all, any deserve to be studied as expositors of the inspired word, certainly none ought to occupy a higher place in our regard than Calvin. It is in this point of view that we have now to regard him.

^b *Theological Lectures*, 2nd edit., p. 215. The passage quoted is from J. J. Conybeare's *Bampton Lectures* for 1824.

^c *Four Discourses on the Sacrifice and Priesthood of Christ*, 2nd edit., p. 320.

^d Preface, 6th edit., p. xxix.

The first appearance of Calvin as an expositor of the Scriptures was in the year 1539, when he published his Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans. This was during the period of his temporary banishment from Geneva, and it seems not at all unlikely that it is to the circumstance of his banishment that we are indebted for the valuable addition of his exegetical writings to the stores of biblical literature. After his return to Geneva, which took place two years later, the immediate duties of his station seem to have prevented for some years his attention to the exposition of the Scriptures. He did not publish anything more in the way of exposition till 1546, when his Commentary on the 1st Epistle to the Corinthians appeared. From this time scarcely a year elapsed up to the time of his death, which took place in 1564, in which he did not produce a Commentary on some portion of the Scriptures. The following list of the dates at which the successive portions appeared may be interesting. We have added also the persons to whom they were dedicated, since the dedications serve in some measure to indicate the great activity and influence of Calvin throughout the churches of the Reformation:—

1539	. Romans	dedicated to Simon Grynee.
1546	. 1 Corinthians, 1st edit.	" Sieur de Bourgogne.
"	. 2 Corinthians	" Melchior Volmar.
1548	. { Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, and Colossians }	" Christopher, Duke of Würtemberg.
"	. 1 and 2 Timothy	" Edward, Duke of Somerset.
1549	. Hebrews	" Sigismund, King of Poland.
"	. Titus, Philemon	" Farel and Viret.
1550	. 1 Thessalonians	" Maturin Cordier.
"	. 2 Thessalonians	" B. Texter (his physician).
1551	. { 1 and 2 Peter, 1 John, James, Jude }	" King Edward VI.
"	. Isaiah	" King Edward VI.
1552	. Acts, 1st edit.	" Christian III., King of Denmark.
1553	. John	" Syndics and Senate of Geneva.
1555	. Harmony of the Gospels	" Consuls and Senate of Frankfort.
1556	. 1 Corinthians, 2nd edit.	" Gall. Carracioli.
1557	. Psalms	" Pious Readers.
"	. Minor Prophets	" Gustavus.
1559	. Isaiah, 2nd edit.	" Queen Elizabeth.
1560	. Acts, 2nd edit.	" Radzivil.
1561	. Jeremiah	" Pious in France.
1563	. Genesis	" Henry of Navarre.
	. Daniel	
1564	. Joshua	
	After Calvin's death	1 Samuel.
		Job.
		Lamentations.
		Ezekiel, ch. i.-xx.

All these, and indeed nearly all Calvin's works, were published both in French and Latin. From

* In all the editions we have had the opportunity of consulting the date is 1556; a manifest error, since the Duke of Somerset was beheaded in 1552. The date given above

From this list it will be seen that his Commentaries include the whole of the New Testament, except the 2nd and 3rd Epistle of John, and the Apocalypse, together with a very important portion of the Old Testament,—certainly a great work to be accomplished by a man engaged as he was in public teaching and polemical writings, in ordering and arranging ecclesiastical affairs and systematizing doctrines, and one whose life was not prolonged beyond his 55th year.

Our object in the ensuing remarks will be to state first the plan on which Calvin proceeds in his Commentaries, and then his qualifications for carrying out this plan. And it will be proper here once for all to express our obligations to Tholuck's Essay on Calvin as a Commentator, from which we have already quoted. Indeed, the writer feels that the subject is in that essay so thoroughly and satisfactorily discussed as to make it difficult to write on the same subject without the appearance of copying to a great extent what has been already said. If it should be asked why not then republish Tholuck's paper rather than write an original article, the reply is that that paper seemed not so well adapted to English readers as one written expressly for them might be. The writer feels it but fair to himself to add further that, except where the authority of Professor Tholuck is expressly quoted, the statements made in the present article are the result of an independent investigation.

As to the plan on which Calvin proceeded, we may take the following account from his own pen, contained in the dedication of his Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans, which, as we have remarked, was the first he published :—

'I remember that when three years ago we were conversing familiarly respecting the best mode of explaining Scripture, that way which pleased you best, approved itself also to me above any other; for each of us felt that the chief virtue of an interpreter consists in perspicuous brevity. And indeed, since it is almost his only office to lay open the mind of the writer whom he has undertaken to explain, in as far as he leads away his readers from that, in so far he misses his aim, or at least wanders in some measure beyond his proper limits. Therefore we were desirous that from amongst those who in the present day propose to advance theology by this kind of labour, some one should rise up who both studied facility, and at the same time endeavoured not to detain the studious unreasonably by prolix commentaries. But

above is ascertained by a letter from Bucer to Calvin, dated Frid. Cal. Oct. 1548, in which he says, '*Dominus dedit tibi insigne donum illustrandi Evangelium suum, cujus præclarum nobis munus jam iterum exhibuisti Commentariis tuis in Epistolam ad Timotheum.*'—Calv., *Epist.*, p. 56, Amst. 1667.

although

although I know that this opinion is not held by all, and that those who do not hold it are induced by certain arguments to judge as they do, nevertheless I cannot relinquish my love of compendiousness. But since that variety which is natural to the dispositions of men causes that one course should be more pleasing to one man, and another course to another, let each enjoy his own judgment, if only he does not endeavour to reduce every one else to his laws. Thus it will happen both that we, who delight more in brevity, shall not reject or condemn the labours of those who are more copious and diffuse in explaining the sacred books, and that they in their turn will bear with us, although they may think us too compressed and concise. For my own part I could not refrain from attempting by my endeavour to benefit in some way the church of God. But yet neither do I feel confident that I have attained that which then seemed to us best, nor did I expect when I began that I should attain it. But I have endeavoured so to regulate my style as to show that I had before my mind that as a pattern. How far I have succeeded, since it is not for me to judge, I leave to be estimated by you, and others like you.'

The reader who is unacquainted with Calvin's writings is not from this account to suppose that his work is merely a dry compend of criticisms. That which he speaks of as *brevity* is nevertheless a very adequate and full explanation of the sacred text: it is brief only in comparison with the prolixity of his contemporaries. His Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans occupies in Tholuck's edition 250 closely-printed pages, and in the English version of the Calvin Translation Society forms an 8vo. volume of nearly 500 pages. He does not omit or curtail what is necessary to the elucidation of the text, but he abstains from lengthened reflections or dissertations suggested by it. His object was to furnish such an explanation of the Scriptures as might be read by others than professed theologians, and thus supply a deficiency in the literature of that time. His adherence to this object rendered it necessary, and no doubt his own taste coincided with this method, that he should not largely enter into critical disquisitions; that he should give rather the results of such researches than elaborate the process by which it is arrived at; that he should exhibit rather the general scope and argument of the sacred writers than determine accurately the precise shade of meaning of every word. Yet he wrote for educated men, and his object was to unfold to them the *meaning* of Scripture. It was required therefore that he should make such use of critical investigations as were needful for this purpose, and moreover, that his style should be sufficiently literate to meet the views and taste of those who were likely to peruse a Latin Commentary on the Scriptures.

His

His object necessitated the form of his work and manifestly required for its successful accomplishment very peculiar qualifications. Inasmuch as he aimed at what he himself terms 'perspicuous brevity,' he required a style at once clear and elegant, together with an easy acquaintance with the subjects he discussed—the languages and archæology of the Scriptures. He wished to unfold simply the *sense* of the inspired writers without entering into critical disquisitions; he must possess therefore great sobriety of judgment and a peculiar exegetical tact. He desired that his work should be of benefit religiously without his appending practical reflections or 'improvements' drawn out in form. His mind must therefore be deeply imbued with the spirit of piety, so that without turning from the explanation to the practical lesson, from the proposition to the emotion which should be excited by it, he might throw an air of piety around the whole, or rather infuse the very spirit of piety into all he wrote. Some of the chief requisites for carrying out the plan which Calvin has professedly laid down are, then, elegance of style, general learning, knowledge of the original languages of Scripture and of archæology, great sobriety of judgment, a peculiar exegetical tact, and deep piety.

Let us see how these qualities are exhibited in his writings. How did his acquirements in learning, his natural endowments and his piety, fit him to be such an expositor of the word of God?

First, as to his acquirements. That he wrote Latin with ease and perspicuity, as well as force, will, we imagine, be acknowledged by all who have read his writings. He evidently feels *at home* in his use of the language, and has succeeded in conveying his meaning concisely and with clearness, though at the same time without any affectation of purity. 'He is far,' says Tholuck, 'from the affected purity of a Bembo or Castalio, who supply the place of appropriately Christian expressions with heathen terms, in which no one ever recognizes the Christian sense; who thinks it necessary, for example, to use *respublica* for *ecclesia*, *genius* for *angelus*, *lotio* for *baptismus*. He is even less scrupulous in the use of language than Beza or Erasmus, or than Ernesti, Knapp, and Winer in more modern times. He writes *penitentiam agite*, where Beza thinks it necessary to translate *resipiscite*. He speaks of a faith, *cujus sedes non in cerebro sed in corde est*, of an *adoratio Dei pro capitis cujusque sensu*. In general he disdains those words with which a heathenish idea is associated, which many but too often substitute for the Christian meaning; he makes use, for example, of *sanctimonia vitæ* instead of *honestas*; of *conversio* and *regeneratio* instead of *emendatio morum*; of *viris Spiritu Dei plenis* instead of *viris probis*. He employs such terms as *e converso*,

verso, circumstantiæ, secundum litteram, etc. It is not so much therefore from the particular choice of words that he may be called classical as from the general *colour* of his discourse, though even this is less Roman than Erasmic. If, on the one hand, his style is frequently deficient in the *numerus*, it is on the other hand free from that oratorical diffuseness, that *ambitus verborum*, into which the slavish imitators of Ciceronian Latinity, especially the theologians of Holland, often fell. On the contrary, we everywhere feel the heart of Calvin through his style, and few indeed have been the ecclesiastical writers who have known so well how to connect with a Roman Latinity so much exhibition of Christian warmth, or so much *affectus* with so much *gravitas*.^f That he was well acquainted with classical literature, both Greek and Latin, is manifest from the allusions and quotations that are scattered throughout his pages. He quotes, for instance, Virgil (Acts xvi. 35; xvii. 28; Heb. ii. 17); Horace (Ps. xxix. 3; xlv. 4; Acts xvii. 21); Juvenal (Ps. xlix. 17; 1 Cor. v. 6); Persius (Ps. xlix. 19; Acts xvii. 25); Pliny (Acts xvii. 1; 1 Cor. xiv. 15); Suetonius (Acts xviii. 2); Cicero (Ps. xlv. 14); Plato (Col. ii. 18; Tit. i. 12); Aristotle (Ps. xxix. 3); Plutarch (Col. ii. 12); Josephus (Ps. xlviii. 7; Acts xxiv. 2); Chrysostom (1 Cor. i. 6; v. 5, 10; vi. 3; Col. i. 15, 2 Tim. iii. 9; Heb. ii. 9); Augustine (1 Cor. i. 17; v. 5; Col. i. 24). These are the result of a cursory examination of his commentaries for this purpose, but they are sufficient to show his extensive reading and accurate acquaintance with ancient literature.

It will not be out of place here to adduce a testimony to the learning of Calvin which certainly cannot be supposed to have proceeded from partiality to Calvin himself—it is the testimony of D'Alembert. 'These people [the Genevese], wishing to give celebrity to their city, called there Calvin, who with justice enjoyed a high reputation, a man of letters of the first rank, one who wrote in Latin, as well as is possible in a dead language, and in French with a singular purity for his time. This purity, which our able grammarians admire even to the present day, renders his writings far superior to almost all of the same age, as the works of the Port Royal are still distinguished for the same reason from the barbarous rhapsodies of their adversaries and their contemporaries. Calvin, an able jurist, and a theologian as enlightened as it was possible to be, drew up, in concert with the magistrates, a code of laws civil and ecclesiastical, which were approved in 1543 by the people, and which have become the fundamental code of the republic.'^f

His

^f *Encyclopédie*, art. 'Genève' (edit. 1782, 8vo.). We are indebted to Dr. J. P. Smith's

His critical acquaintance with the original languages of the Scriptures is shown rather in the texture of the whole work than in specific verbal criticisms. Yet there are not wanting instances of his skill in verbal criticism when it comes within his design. Thus he remarks that the verb *καταρτίζεσθαι* (1 Cor. i. 10) 'signifies properly to be joined and united together, as the members of the human body are united with the most perfect symmetry;' *κρίνειν* (1 Cor. ii. 2) he says 'often signifies amongst the Greeks the same as *εκλέγειν*, that is, to choose out as valuable;' *συλλαμβάνεσθαι* (Phil. iv. 3) 'is to lay hold of and embrace the same thing for the purpose of helping;' on Col. ii. 5, 'rejoicing and seeing,' he remarks, that is rejoicing, 'because I see, for the copula is used both in Latin and Greek with the force of a causal particle.'

His knowledge of Hebrew is shown in his Commentaries on the New Testament as well as those on the Old. He not unfrequently illustrates the Greek text by a reference to Hebrew words and phrases. Several illustrations will be found in Tholuck's paper. His Commentary on the Psalms shows in almost every page his acquaintance with the Hebrew language and grammar. Thus, to take Psalm viii. as an example; ver. 1, he remarks, that *תנה* is to be taken as an infinitive (comp. Rosenm. *in loc.*); ver. 3, he remarks on the signification of the word *נפֿי*, and explains the verb *השִׁבִּית*; ver. 4, he states the different meanings of the particle *כִּי*, the signification of *אנוּחַ* denoting the frailty of man; the meaning of the verb *פָּקַד*; ver. 6, he notices the LXX. rendering of the word *אֱלֹהִים* by *ἄγγελοι*.

Yet Father Simon declared that 'it was with great difficulty that he read Hebrew, and that he knew almost nothing of Greek.' Such a declaration could have been made only to serve a purpose, viz., to depreciate the French Protestant versions which he was criticising. But even then the edge of his criticism is taken off by the subsequent admission that 'as he was a man of great judgment and had long applied himself to the study of the Scriptures, he has sometimes been more successful than those who understood the Hebrew language.'

Calvin's knowledge of general archæology and history, and the use he makes of this knowledge, is apparent throughout all his

Smith's *Scripture Testimony* for pointing our attention to this eulogium of Calvin. Nearly the whole of what is here translated is given by him, *Script. Test.*, vol. ii. p. 157, 3rd edit. One remarkable difference occurs in the French text quoted by Dr. S. and that which we have before us, viz., the omission of the designation 'heretic' as applied to Calvin. The edition of the *Encyclopédie* from which we quote reads 'théologien aussi éclairé qu'il pouvoit l'être.' Dr. Smith's quotation gives 'théologien aussi éclairé qu'un hérétique peut être.'

* *Histoire Critique du Vieux Test.*, liv. ii. ch. xxiv., p. 385.

expositions, but is perhaps most strikingly shown in his Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles. We may refer, for instance, to his remarks on Acts viii. 26, 27 ; xvi. 37 ; xvii. 18 ; xxiii. 2, 25, etc.

We pass over these qualities, however, the more hastily because they do not after all constitute by any means the chief value of Calvin's expository works. Verbal criticism, knowledge of grammatical construction and of antiquities, may be sought elsewhere, and it would be idle to recommend Calvin to the attention and regard of modern students in reference to these matters ; he has other and higher and more enduring claims on the attention of Biblical scholars.

The sobriety of Calvin's judgment is remarkably shown in his care not to overstrain passages so as to give support to his own doctrinal views. His writings give one the impression that he is thoroughly honest and has a deep conviction of the truth both of Scripture in general and of the doctrines which he had deduced from it. Hence he is not anxious to screen a difficulty from captious eyes, nor is he concerned to uphold by any subterfuge the dignity or truthfulness of Scripture ; nor, again, does he feel it needful for the support of his own views to press into his service passages from which such support may by violence be extorted. He is not ashamed of saying that a passage is obscure or that its meaning is uncertain. The remarks which he makes in his Introduction to the Epistle to the Hebrews, as to the author of the Epistle, and in his Introduction to the Epistle of James, as to its canonical authority, may be cited as instances of his candour and the sobriety of his judgment. In his Commentary on the Psalms he exercises great, and in the opinion of many too much, caution in applying them to the Messiah. The view which he takes of the manner in which quotations are made from the Old Testament in the New furnishes a striking example of the sobriety of his judgment. Thus he remarks on Rom. iii. 5 : ' Paul has followed the Greek translation which suited better his present purpose : for we know that the Apostles are often somewhat free in quoting the words of Scripture, because they considered it sufficient if their citations were apposite as to substance, so that they had no great scruple in respect to the words.' Thus again, Heb. x. 5 : ' The Apostle has followed the Greek, for they were not scrupulous in quoting the words, if only they did not employ the Scripture false for their purpose. It is always to be observed in what way they cite testimonies, for they diligently beware in reference to the scope of the passage not to pervert Scripture to a foreign sense, but in the words, as well as other things which belong not to their present purpose, they allow themselves more liberty.'

liberty.' Matt. ii. 18 : 'When [Matthew says that] the prediction of the prophet was then fulfilled, he does not mean that there had been predicted in this passage that which Herod had done, but that there had been renewed by this slaughter the grief which many ages before the Benjamites had experienced.'

But the peculiar intellectual qualification of Calvin for his task, and that which makes his expositions so valuable to the Biblical student, is the remarkable aptitude he exhibits for placing himself in the position of the writer and developing his train of thought, the faculty which has been most appropriately termed *exegetical tact*. This, indeed, is closely connected with that sobriety of judgment of which we have just spoken, and as a separate element in his manner of interpreting, it is to be discovered rather in the whole texture of his work than in his remarks upon individual passages. In reading his comments continuously one cannot fail to be struck with the natural manner in which he develops the thought, so natural, indeed, that at the first glance one is apt to be disappointed, on the ground that nothing new or fresh has been said. A little further consideration shows, however, that just that has been said which gives in Calvin's own language the most natural exposition of the train of thought which was intended by the writer. This excellence, as may be expected, is most strikingly shown in his explanations of the argumentative parts of Scripture, as, *e. g.*, the Epistles of Paul. It is difficult to select examples sufficiently concise for our present purpose; we may, however, quote, as an illustration of what has been said, his remark on 2 Cor. ii. 5 : 'This passage is understood by some as if Paul intended to say, "He who has caused me sorrow has offended you also, for you ought to have grieved equally with me; yet the truth is, that I have grieved almost alone, for I will not say this absolutely that I may not overcharge you all:" thus in the second member of the sentence there is a correction of the first. But the exposition of Chrysostom is much more apt, for he reads the words as one sentence, "He has not grieved me alone, but in part all of you; and I say in part that I may not press too heavily on him." I dissent from Chrysostom only in the phrase "in part," which I understand as meaning "in a measure." I know that Ambrose takes it to mean "the part of the saints," because the Corinthian church was divided, but that is more subtle than solid.'

We will add the remark of Dr. Paul Henry in confirmation of what has been said :—'In the Epistles of Paul he (Calvin) penetrates deeply into the spirit of the Apostle, and as it may be so easily perceived, becoming one with it, he explains what is particular from what is general; and in this respect he resembles Chrysostom,

Chrysostom, except that the latter allowed rhetoric to exercise a prejudicial influence on his style. The whole New Testament history becomes vital under Calvin's hand; he lives in every active, speaking, individual character; in the wicked as in the good, and he expounds every discourse from the relations and from the very souls of the speakers. In the Acts of the Apostles especially this his art and skill are exhibited in the most wonderful manner. He seizes with admirable force the peculiar characteristics of the actors mentioned in the history, and presents them to the reader. In the same skilful manner he expounds the discourses of St. Paul, and converts them, without violence, into a regular and connected sermon.^h

Lastly, his moral and religious qualifications are not less striking than his mental. His whole style exhibits a mind deeply affected with religious convictions. He never appears as the mere explainer of words or thoughts, but every part of the Scriptures is to him full of practical, religious instruction. He needs not to *extort* lessons of practical piety by any elaborate process; they arise easily, and as it were spontaneously from the subject. The preface to his Commentary on the Psalms is particularly worthy of regard in this respect. We cannot refrain from quoting a few sentences:—'How varied and splendid are the riches which this treasury contains, it is difficulty for words to express; indeed, whatever I shall say I know will be far inferior to its dignity. This book I am accustomed, not without reason, to call the anatomy of all the parts of the soul, inasmuch as no one will find any feeling in himself the image of which does not shine forth in this mirror. Indeed, all the griefs, sorrows, fears, doubts, hopes, cares, anxieties, and turbulent emotions with which the minds of men are agitated, the Holy Spirit has here represented to the life. The other parts of Scripture contain the commands which God enjoined his servants to hand down to us; but here the prophets themselves speaking with God, whilst they discover all their inmost feelings, call and attract each of us to a scrutiny of himself, that none of the many infirmities to which we are liable, and of the many vices with which we are filled, may remain concealed. Earnest prayer arises first from a feeling of our necessity, then from faith in the promises. Here the readers will be at once best awakened to a sense of their own evils and admonished of the remedies to be sought for them, and thus whatever can tend to animate us in praying to God is shown in this book. Nor, indeed, do we meet with promises only, but amidst the invitations of God and the impediments of the flesh there is

^h *Life of Calvin*, vol. i. p. 226, Stebbing's translation.

often placed before us one who addresses himself to prayer, that whenever we are agitated by various doubts we may learn to struggle until the soul rises free to God. Nor is this all; but amidst hesitation, fear, and trembling, we may yet strive to pray until we enjoy its solace. Add to this, that although the book is filled with all precepts which can make us live a holy, pious, and just life, yet most of all it instructs us to bear the cross, which is the true proof of obedience when, giving up our own desires, we submit ourselves to God and suffer our lives to be guided according to his will, so that the troubles which are most bitter to us are sweetened, because they proceed from him. But if the labour I have expended on these Commentaries should be profitable to the readers, let them know, that by the small experience of trials with which the Lord has exercised me, I have been in no small degree helped, not only in accommodating to present use whatever of doctrine I had collected, but also in having the way more easily opened for understanding the design of each of the writers of the Psalms.'

It will not be supposed from what has been said, that the Commentaries of Calvin are without defects, or that the view given by him is always the best or the true one. Many instances might be pointed out in which he has failed in verbal criticism; many also in which he has not given what appears to us the best interpretation of a passage; in some cases we meet with errors of fact, as, e.g., Ps. xxxiii. 7. But the two objections to Calvin's Commentaries which we suppose are likely to be felt by modern readers are, first, the strong language in which he condemns the errors of those who, according to his view, erred fundamentally as to Christian doctrine. Thus he loses no opportunity of speaking in the strongest terms of reprobation of the doctrines of the Papists, of the Anabaptists, of Servetus,¹ &c. And secondly, what

¹ We cannot mention the name of Servetus in connection with Calvin without a feeling of deep pain, and indeed of humiliation. We willingly and gladly allow that Calvin acted only in accordance with the general feeling and spirit of his times—that the other reformers, even the mild Melancthon, agreed with him that the heretic should be punished with death. But *ought not* that strong sense which guided him in other matters to have directed him to a better course here; and *could not* the spirit of grace, if rightly sought, have been imparted to lead into the truth on this subject as well as on others? One solitary voice was raised on behalf of the rights of conscience, so strangely forgotten by the men who were at the very time claiming for themselves the freedom which they refused to those whom they called heretics; but it was unheeded, and indeed was not likely to be listened to, for the remonstrant himself, David Georgius, was, in the language of the day, a heretic. He was an Anabaptist; and though he died in peace, his bones were after his death burnt, as it is not unlikely his living body would have been if his life had been prolonged. We cannot forbear quoting a part of his remonstrance, as it is given by Dr. Paul Henry in his *Life of Calvin* (Stebbing's translation, vol. ii. p. 212):—
'It

what would by many be deemed his too strenuous maintenance on all occasions when they come before him of the doctrinal views which he held, and which we are accustomed to term Calvinistic.

With regard to the first, we must make due allowance for the age in which he wrote, when language of censure, much stronger than would now be deemed consistent with Christian courtesy and propriety, was universal; and again, we must remember that he was personally engaged during his life long in controversy with the upholders of such views. We may add, too, that his strenuous opposition to what he considered heresy serves at least to bring out in bolder relief the earnestness and consistency of his own faith. With regard to the second point, we prefer quoting from Professor Tholuck, who, after observing 'that his view of predestination appears in all its sternness whenever an opportunity occurs,' adds, 'We believe that even this part of Calvin's Commentaries will do more good than hurt. As one extreme often serves to restrain and limit the other, so we think it will turn out here. A profound truth lies at the foundation of Calvinism; and that very aspect of the Divine Being and of human nature which our age is most inclined to overlook, is made prominent in this system. If it be so, that our age has been accustomed to set up man, with numberless claims on God, as a Prometheus, in opposition to the Supreme Being, and that this mode of thinking has in any degree affected the views even of evangelical theologians, it may be, that the inexorable severity with which Calvin takes everything from man and gives everything to God, will exert a salutary influence upon many; while the strong current of the age, diametrically opposed as it is to this mode of thinking, may prove a sufficient security against the Calvinistic extreme. Should not this, however, be the case—should the consistency of Calvinism compel from one and another an unconditional surrender, so be it; there is always something more noble and majestic in the power inherent in the iron view of Calvinism than in the weakness of a carnal Pelagianism.'^k We will only add Calvin's closing remark on Acts xiii. 48: 'Again, since many involve themselves in perplexed and difficult imaginations whilst they seek for their

'It is an incredible blindness that the servants of Christ, who are sent to give life from the dead through the knowledge of the truth, should condemn the erring to death, and through temporal death expose their souls to eternal ruin. The right to pass such a sentence belongs to Him alone who gave life and suffered death for our redemption. Were it lawful to put heretics to death there would be a general slaughter, for all religious parties regard their opponents as guilty of heresy.' Can we have any more striking proof than the burning of Servetus by Christians and Protestants gives us of the importance of our Lord's injunction, 'Call no man master upon earth'?

^k *Bib. Rep.*, ut supra, p. 567.

own salvation in the hidden counsel of God, let us learn that the election of God is so proved by faith that our minds may be turned to Christ as the pledge of election, and that we may seek no other certainty than that which is made manifest to us in the Gospel. Let this seal, I say, suffice us, that whosoever believeth on the only begotten Son of God hath eternal life' (John iii. 36).

After every allowance is made for Calvin's defects, on the whole few commentators can be found more judicious in the general mode of treating their subject; few who have been less influenced by previously formed views in their interpretation of particular passages; few of greater fairness and sobriety of judgment; perhaps none possessed of more delicate tact. These qualities, united with the strain of piety which pervades the whole and infuses into it a living power, are the main excellencies of Calvin, and for these he well deserves to be studied by all Biblical scholars, but especially by those whose duty it is to set before their fellow-men the great truths of religion. If, as preachers, we were more completely imbued with the manly sense and sober judgment which are so conspicuous in the Commentaries of Calvin, we should not be so frequently contented with easy and flippant remarks, intended as explanations of the oracles of truth, which, however they may excite the applause of the multitude, produce, alas! but little effect either on their understandings or their hearts; and if we had attained his deep-toned piety and strong faith, we should not be so often chargeable with the too sensitive shrinking from a difficulty or glossing it over with fair words, lest it should be laid hold of as an objection by the mass of the people.

The student of the word of God in the present day will, indeed, need other helps than those which the writings of Calvin afford him. He may have access to, and ought to make use of, more elaborate criticism of the language of the Scriptures; he may and ought to know more accurately what is the *genuine text* of the sacred writings. But let his acquirements and his doctrinal views be what they may, we cannot but think that it will be for his good that he should study the Commentaries of Calvin; that he should enter into his *method*; that he should apply the principles of exegesis which he finds there developed; and above all, in this age of searching criticism, when the very foundations of our belief are anew exposed to scrutiny, that he should seek to attain the earnestness of faith and the same fervour of piety which constitute alike the charm and the vital power of Calvin's Commentaries.

THE ALLEGED DISCREPANCY BETWEEN PAUL AND JAMES.

By the Rev. EBENEZER KENNEDY, Leith.

THE Bible is the work of holy men of old, who wrote as they were moved by the Holy Spirit. It is the combined production of more than forty different authors. Comparatively few of these were personally acquainted with one another. They lived in different climes, and districts far asunder; and, from the first of them to the last of them, a period of about one thousand six hundred years elapsed. They received very different training—some being men of thorough education, and others comparatively illiterate. Some of them were men of genius and considerable power of mind, whilst others were men of only very ordinary parts. They were of very different standing in society: some belonging to the humble peasantry, some to the middle classes, and some to the highest rank. They followed very different pursuits: some of them were shepherds, some fishermen, several teachers of the people, one a tax-gatherer, one a tentmaker, one a physician, one a legislator, and two kings. Seldom were the people they addressed in precisely the same circumstances. Seldom were the errors in doctrine or in practice, they had to combat, in every respect alike. Hence they had very different immediate objects in view; indeed, scarce any two of them (unless it be the Evangelists) can be pointed out who had exactly the same.

Though these all were inspired by one and the same Spirit, He left their personal and intellectual peculiarities entirely untouched. Infallibly guided by that Divine Agent as to real truth, each was left to grapple with the particular phase of error that came under his notice in his own way, and to impart to his production the cast of his own mind. Hence we might, beforehand, expect to find in these writings *real harmony* but *apparent discrepancy*. And when we come to the more minute investigation of the Scriptures we find our anticipations fully realized. Between no two parts of the Bible is this discrepancy more apparent than between the statements of Paul and the statements of James on the subject of justification.

If we place their respective statements in contrast with each other, it will be easily seen that the discrepancy is very apparent. Paul (Rom. v. i.) says, 'We are justified by faith.' James

(ii.

(ii. 14) asks, 'Can faith save a man?' Paul (Rom. iii. 20) says, 'By the deeds of the law there shall no flesh be justified.' James (ii. 21) asks, 'Was not Abraham our father justified by works?' Paul (Rom. iii. 28) says, 'A man is justified by faith without the deeds of the law.' And James (ii. 24) says, 'Ye see how that by works a man is justified, and not by faith only.' The seeming want of harmony between these statements of the two apostles is so obvious that no attentive reader can fail to be struck with it. The honest enquirer after the truthfulness of Revelation has observed it; and, from his non-acquaintance with the phraseology of Scripture, and the different objects of the Apostles, it has appeared to him so glaring as to induce him at once to throw aside the Bible, as wholly unworthy of the character and the place to which it aspires. The practised and dexterous sceptic, ever ready to lay hold of what seemingly lies on the surface, has taken advantage of this and made the most of it. And the apparent jarring between Paul and James has been so easily and quickly observed as to have called forth numerous efforts, in all ages, in order to show their harmony.

That there is no difficulty in harmonizing the two Apostles, it would betray much ignorance of the whole subject and much folly to affirm. So great has this difficulty appeared to some that, failing to discern any reconciling principle, it has led them to entertain serious suspicions of the canonical authority of the Epistle of James. In the primitive church Eusebius was one of these. The earlier opinion of Luther is well known. And, in later times, the eminently pious Bengel has said: 'To receive both James and Paul on an equal footing will not be easy, either for one and the same person, or for one and the same Church.' Yet these were men that had much regard for the authority of Scripture, and such sentiments can only be accounted for on the supposition that they found much difficulty in harmonizing Paul and James. If anything besides be necessary to show that there is difficulty in the matter, it will be found in the discordant principles of reconciliation which have been adopted by those who have set themselves to this task.

Now when a difficulty of this nature meets us, and when we are pressed with an objection based upon it, though we were prepared with nothing but a mere hypothesis in reply, it should be enough to silence the objector, or at any rate to prevent his objection from shaking our confidence in the position against which it is brought. Dr. Chalmers, in his 'Evidences,' develops this idea with his usual perspicuity. An hypothesis cannot legitimately be made use of as an argument, but it can in meeting an objection. Hence, in the case before us, though we had nothing but a mere hypothesis to propose, it should be enough to prevent any one from

from boldly affirming that there is any real contradiction between Paul and James.

Upon this subject many views have been adopted and propounded which, we presume, need very little more than to be stated in order to their speedy rejection. It has been affirmed with a great deal of confidence that James wrote *expressly to oppose* Paul's sentiments on the subject of justification. These words that follow are used by Hug in his Introduction—'In this Epistle the Apostle Paul is (if I may be allowed to use so harsh an expression for a while) contradicted so flatly, that it would seem to have been written in opposition to some of his doctrines and opinions. All that Paul has taught respecting faith, its efficacy in justification, and the inutility of works, is here directly contravened.' And, again, he says—'The Epistle (of James) was therefore written of set purpose against Paul, against the doctrine that faith procures man justification and the Divine favour.' Now if this be so, it needs little penetration to see that it is fatal to the inspiration of either the one or the other Apostle. And it is indeed difficult to avoid the conviction that the author we have just quoted was influenced in his statements by his theological views and ecclesiastical connection.

Others, who hold back with pious fear from such a bold assertion as we have just listened to, affirm that, though James did not write against Paul, nor against his doctrine, he wrote against the *perversion* or the *abuse* of it by some ill-designing teachers who early crept into some of the churches. The objections of Neander against this view appear to us conclusive. We name only one of them. Had James' Epistle been written against a misunderstanding, or an abuse of Paul's doctrine, he would no doubt be careful to state that, so as to prevent his readers from supposing that there was any antagonism betwixt himself and his brother Apostle.

As forming a part of the view propounded by Hug, the divines of the Church of Rome have understood James strictly and literally, and have endeavoured to reconcile Paul's statements with his the best way they could. According to this representation of the case, James teaches the doctrine that a man is justified before God by the works of the law—understanding by the 'law' the *moral law*—and when Paul denies that a man is justified by the deeds of the law, he is to be understood as meaning the *ceremonial law*. Along with this solution of the difficulty we must class the laboured one by Bishop Bull, in his '*Harmonia Apostolica*.' According to this prelate, James teaches the doctrine that a man is justified by works—understanding, however, by 'works,' *evangelical works*; and, in order to harmonize the two Apostles, Paul is understood

as

as meaning by 'works' works of the *Mosaic law*. That this theory would reconcile Paul and James is very obvious. But insuperable difficulties stand in the way of its adoption. It would be contrary to the plan we are pursuing in this part of our dissertation to state these at length. Suffice it to say, that such a construction of Paul's language is far-fetched, and would not very readily strike the mind of an individual who had not some dogma to maintain; a dogma, indeed, to which something like a death blow would be given by the obvious and common sense interpretation of the words. Beside, the law of which Paul speaks, and the works of which cannot justify, is that by which comes the 'knowledge of sin.' Now that this comes by the ceremonial rather than the moral law, it cannot, we think, very easily be made out.

Others have endeavoured to solve the difficulty and to reconcile the Apostles, by understanding James as meaning to say that works make it obvious to *ourselves* that we are justified; whereas Paul is to be understood as speaking of justification before God, properly so called. This was the view taken of the matter by President Edwards, though he would not confine the evidence of one's justification, afforded by these works, to himself, but regard them as manifesting the same thing to others around him. In reference to this it has been well observed, 'that good works certainly are an evidence to ourselves that we are in a state of favour with God; but surely it cannot be said that Abraham had no evidence of this till he offered up his son.' 'Justification here does not signify a man's approbation of himself, but the favourable verdict of another concerning him; for not "he that commendeth himself is approved, but whom the Lord commendeth."' As closely connected with this view may be stated another, which solves the difficulty by understanding Paul as speaking of justification in the *sight of God*, and James of justification in the sight of man. That Paul speaks of justification in the sight of God will be readily admitted; but that James speaks only of justification in the sight of man cannot, we think, very easily be shown from his Epistle. The reverse is very clear from some of James' statements. When he says, 'So speak ye, and so do, as they that shall be judged by the law of liberty,' it would be a very forced interpretation of his language to understand him as referring only to the judgment of *men*. And, besides, 'the judgment of men is always fallible, frequently erroneous, and at best but of small consequence.'

The unmeaning harmonizing theory that Paul speaks of the justification of men's *persons*, and James of the justification of their *faith*, needs no more than to be named in order to its disownment.

There

There have been, however, one or two other hypotheses upon this subject, which do not appear at all satisfactory, but which, from their more general adoption, demand a fuller investigation. By one of these the word '*faith*,' as used by Paul and James, is understood in different senses. According to the advocates of this hypothesis, by '*faith*' Paul means the '*genuine faith of the Gospel*,' whilst James means by it a '*mere speculative or historical faith*.' This is the view propounded by Dwight in his attempt to reconcile James with Paul. And on this scheme, in connection with his defence of it, we submit the following observations :—

First.—In his argument upon this point Dwight does not stand before us in his usual masculine strength. He asserts very boldly that 'there are two totally different kinds of faith spoken of in the Scriptures.' We want the proof of this. And he, contrary to his usual custom, fails to supply us with it.

Secondly.—The observation of Dr. Payne upon this is worthy of being quoted. 'Conceding to Dwight, for the sake of argument, that there is a right and a wrong way of believing the Gospel, and that justification is not of course connected with the wrong faith; he surely will not venture to contend—in the face of Paul's assertion, that we are justified by faith alone, without the deeds of the law—that it is not connected with the right faith, that there must be both the right faith and its fruits; that is good works, in order to justification.'

Thirdly.—Let us still make the same concession to Dwight, and we ask, Does his theory after all, really harmonize the two Apostles? To us it appears most manifest that it does not. According to this author Paul means by faith the '*genuine faith of the Gospel*,' and James '*mere speculative faith*.' Well, assuming this, let us keep it distinctly in view, and then Paul will be speaking thus: '*A man is justified by the genuine faith of the Gospel without the deeds of the law;*' and James thus: '*Ye see how that by works a man is justified and not by speculative faith only.*' In this way the one Apostle teaches that it is *genuine* faith that is connected with justification, and the other, that it is *speculative* faith. Then, certainly, they are not perfectly harmonious after all. Nor is this the only way in which the discrepancy would still remain were Dwight's hypothesis adopted. He maintained that Paul and James were speaking of the same justification and the same works. Very well, let us keep this in view, and see if, after all, the Apostles will be agreed. Paul says—'*A man is justified by faith without the deeds of the law.*' James says—'*Ye see that by works a man is justified, and not by faith only.*' In this way Paul *excludes* works in the matter of justification, and James *includes* those

those very same works in that very same justification. Hence, according to Dwight's theory, if there be not a flat contradiction between the two Apostles, there is something not very easily distinguished from it. But

Fourthly.—Is there any reason why we should concede to Dwight that there are such things as *different kinds of faith*? He himself does not prove this; and, if men wish to speak correctly, we think it most inaccurate to say that there are. There are, indeed, as many different *objects* of faith as there are things or truths to be believed, but that there are different ways of believing is what we cannot comprehend. Here, however, we willingly give way to let two distinguished authors speak. We first quote from Dr. Payne—‘The difference between the faith of a real Christian and of a mere professor is in the subject of faith—the thing believed—and not in the act of believing.’ ‘There can be little doubt that the conception of different kinds of faith, such as speculative and practical, historical and saving, &c., and, indeed, all the notions which have existed with reference to a difference in the act of faith itself, as put forth by a real Christian and a mere professor, owe their existence to a desire to account for the different effects of faith on different individuals.’ Dr. Campbell, in his Note on John vii. 38—‘He that believeth in me, as the Scripture hath said, out of his belly shall flow rivers of living waters,’—has the following statements—‘As commentators have been at a loss to find the portion of Scripture here referred to, some have joined *καθὼς εἶπεν ἡ γραφή* to the clause *ὁ πιστεύων εἰς ἐμὲ*, which immediately precedes, and thus rendered the words, *he who believeth in me so as the Scripture hath commanded*, making the latter clause serve to qualify the former, that it may be understood that not every sort of belief is meant, but he whose belief is of such a particular kind. For my part, I do not find any insinuation in Scripture that there are, or can be, different ways of believing. Belief may indeed have very different objects. But as to the act of the mind called *believing*, it is always mentioned in holy writ with the same simplicity that seeing, hearing, understanding, and remembering are mentioned. Nor does there appear the least suspicion in the writer that any one of these should be misunderstood by the reader more than any other. The above mentioned is one of those criticisms which spring entirely from controversial theology; for if there had not been previously different definitions of *faith* adopted by different parties of Christians, such a manner of interpreting the words had never been devised.’ Not only, then, would Dwight's theory not harmonize Paul and James, but it is borne out neither by the philosophy of mind nor by the statements of Scripture.

There

There remains one other theory of reconciliation to be considered, which is far from being satisfactory, though it should seem somewhat widely adopted. According to this hypothesis, Paul and James are speaking of the same faith and the same justification, *i. e.* the justification of a sinner which takes place on his belief of the Gospel; but they are not speaking of the same *works*. On this scheme Paul means by 'works' *works of law*, and James *works of faith*. James is understood as teaching that a man is justified by faith, and by the works which faith produces. And while Paul denies that works of law are possessed of any justifying power, he does not deny this in reference to works of faith. He is understood, indeed, as assuming that *these are* possessed of a justifying power. This is the view adopted by Knapp, and Frommann, and Neander, and Stuart. That we have correctly represented their view will be obvious from one or two quotations from some of them. Knapp writes thus—'James does not place works in opposition to true faith; but, like Christ and his other disciples, he recognizes and declares true faith to be the origin and source of all holy actions. And, although Paul frequently affirms, in perfect agreement with Christ and James, that a man is not justified by the works of the *law*, or that he is justified *without* the works of the *law*, *ἐργα νόμου*, he yet in no instance contradicts Christ or James, by saying that a man is *not* justified by *good* works, or that he is justified *without* good works, *ἐργα ἀγαθὰ*, *i. e.* separately from, and exclusively of the love and practice of Christian virtue.' Frommann expresses his agreement with Knapp's views, and he makes use of the following statement: 'That Paul in making justification dependant on faith, did not mean a merely dead faith, but an active one; and that he thus makes justification to depend upon *faith and works together*, is clear.' And Moses Stuart, in his *Excursus* devoted to this subject, asks—'Where has Paul taught that a man is justified by faith *alone*; and that evangelical good works are not an essential condition of his justification before God?' It is thus that these writers harmonize the two Apostles. In the way of our adoption of their scheme, however, there stand insuperable difficulties. And these we state in as few words as possible.

First.—To say the least of it, this view is most unlikely to be true. Such a refining upon Paul's language would not readily occur to an individual whose sole object was to ascertain the genuine meaning of his words. If that had been his meaning, he would probably have given some plain hint to that effect. No where, however, on the admission of these men themselves, does Paul expressly teach us that works of faith have anything whatever to do in the matter of man's justification before God. Of course

course therefore it is wholly gratuitous to understand him in this way.

Secondly.—These authors supply us with no valid argument, from any other source in favour of their construction of Paul's language. Did they show that the Apostles could not be reconciled on any other principle, then we might probably rather choose to embrace their hypothesis than to admit that Paul and James were at war. But this none of them attempts; and that there is another method of harmonizing them we hope to see ere we have done. Moses Stuart asks, 'where has Paul taught that a man is justified by faith *alone*; and that evangelical good works are not an essential condition of his justification before God?' We would submit, however, to the distinguished professor whether this be fair? There is no doubt he feels that the *onus probandi* lies upon him and those who hold the same view; and we have a right to ask them the previous question—where has Paul taught that evangelical good works are an essential condition of justification before God? Until they point out this, their scheme of reconciliation must be regarded as wholly baseless.

Thirdly.—If this hypothesis be adopted, we are not able to see how the *gratuitous nature* of justification can satisfactorily be made out. In case we should misrepresent the advocates of this view, we think it but fair to say in passing that they all disown the idea that there is any *merit* in the works they speak of; and, for our own part, we have no doubt that they themselves believe that justification is wholly gratuitous. Still, however, we feel that were we to adopt their theory it would be impossible for us to show how justification could be *entirely* of grace. These works are done by the sinner. It matters nothing what name you give them: they are works. And Paul's own statement is, 'to him that worketh is the reward not reckoned of grace, but of debt.'

Fourthly.—We are really quite unable to perceive how this hypothesis *can be true*. Its advocates are agreed that it is the sinner's justification before God that is spoken of. They will further admit that the moment a sinner believes the Gospel he is justified. Up to that moment he was not in possession of faith. Till *after* that moment he could not have works springing from faith. Hence the works of faith could not contribute to his justification, for he must have been justified *before* these could have any existence. If it should be said that he was justified in anticipation of these, then, of course, that is abandoning the position that he was justified in any way by them. And

Fifthly.—It is very difficult for us to see how Paul could teach, more plainly and fully than he has done, the doctrine that a sinner is justified by faith *ALONE*. His words, so often quoted, are—
'We

'We conclude that a man is justified *by faith* WITHOUT the deeds of the law.' If this does not exclude from the ground of justification *every* and *any* work the sinner can perform, we really feel ourselves quite unable to draw out a sentence that would. Any other construction of the Apostle's language appears to us the most palpable evasion.

As none of those methods of reconciliation between Paul and James we have adverted to, commend themselves as satisfactory, it remains for us now to develope another way of removing the apparent discrepancy. Ere we do so, however, we may premise some few observations which may contribute to the clearer understanding of the subject.

We are not sure that very much importance should be attached to the difference between the characters of the two apostles. Neander lays a very great deal of stress upon this. Some of his statements, however, are very far from being justifiable. He does, indeed, make out that there was a wide difference between the training and the habits of Paul and James; and this, certainly, should not be lost sight of, but kept steadily in view. But the impression he leaves upon the mind is very unfavourable to the character of James. 'He,' says Neander, 'received the new spirit under the old forms, similarly to many Catholics who have attained to free evangelical convictions, and yet have not been able to disengage themselves from the old ecclesiastical forms; or like Luther, when he had already attained to a knowledge of justification by faith, but before he was aware of the consequences flowing from it in opposition to the prevalent doctrines of the Church.' Elsewhere he says—'It is possible that he (James) remained confirmed in this form of imperfect doctrinal development, although his heart was penetrated with love to God and Jesus.' This, to say the least of it, is a very unwarrantable way of speaking of one who is admitted to have written as he was moved by the Holy Ghost. Still, however, we may keep in mind that there was a wide difference between the mental, and some difference between the spiritual, developments of the two apostles.

As Albert Barnes, in his remarks upon this subject (which, by the way, are far from being entirely satisfactory—at one time proceeding upon a difference in the meaning of the word 'faith,' and at another in the word 'justification,') observes, if we would understand and appreciate a picture, we must know not only where the painter stood, but also the object he depicts, and the precise side of it he contemplates. So we must know somewhat, not only of the characters of Paul and James, but also of the persons they addressed. It is of considerable importance in this inquiry to

ascertain the views and practices of these. It is very desirable to see, as far as possible, the way in which the apostles contemplated their readers. And it is of the utmost moment to keep steadily before the mind the immediate objects which these, respectively, had in view. The Epistles themselves are our only sources of information in these matters; and we think we may gather out of them sufficient for our purpose. None can attentively read the Epistle to the Romans and the Epistle of James without seeing that the writers were dealing, directly or indirectly, with very different classes of persons. Paul takes a wider and more comprehensive view of the human family, and the way of salvation, than James does. He depicts men in their depraved and unconverted state—*before* they become Christians at all. He at length, formally, and somewhat systematically, describes *how, as sinners*, they are justified, and introduced into the family of God. And then he looks at their position, and unfolds their obligations in their new relation. Now James contemplates matters in a very different light. He assumes at once that he was dealing exclusively with those who were *already Christians*; or, at all events, *professed* to be so. He addresses them as such. And he proceeds to press upon their attention the duties which devolved upon them in this their capacity. Of their position previous to their reception into the family of God he takes no particular notice. On the way in which they were justified by God, as sinners, he is silent. Taking them on their own profession his object was to make them holy and devoted Christians.

Nor is this all. The opinions and practices that Paul grapples with differed widely from the opinions and practices of those that James addressed. It is quite manifest, from the first part of the Epistle to the Romans, that Paul had in view the tenets of such persons as we would call *legalists*, *i. e.* persons who maintained that men are justified before God, and saved through some works or merits of their own. What Paul, therefore, felt called upon to do was, first to tear to pieces this false ground of hope; and next to lay down the *only* ground on which a sinner, as such, can stand justified and safe before God. Those addressed by James, however, were of a very different description. They cordially embraced the doctrine that a man is justified by faith alone, and abandoned the idea that works had anything whatsoever to do in the matter. They ran, however, to the opposite extreme. Completely did they exclude works from the ground of justification; but, consciously or unconsciously—from good or from bad motives—they were led to depreciate the value and importance of works altogether. There was but one step between this and saying—‘Let us continue in sin that grace may abound.’ James’s object

was

was to deal with *such* persons ; and he deals with them in the best possible way.

Keeping these things, as far as possible, in view, we now proceed to develop the way in which the apostles are seen to be completely free from contradicting one another. This is seen by observing that they attach widely different meanings to the two words *δικαίω* and *ἔργα*.

I. Let us examine *δικαίω* (to justify) as used by Paul and James :—

On the sense in which Paul employs *δικαίω* lexicographers and expositors are, speaking generally, unanimous. It is used by him as the antithesis of *κατακρίνω* (to condemn). ‘It is God that justifieth: who is he that condemneth?’ (Rom. viii. 33, 34). In those parts of his writings which appear to be at variance with the teaching of James, Paul means by *δικαίω* to acquit or absolve a sinner from condemnation. It is God that does this ; and in doing so he is regarded as occupying the capacity of judge. This acquittal from condemnation takes place, not on account of personal innocence, but through the imputation of the perfect righteousness of Christ. Whilst it is manifest, from many of Paul’s statements, that *deliverance from condemnation, through imputed righteousness, must* be the general sense of the term in his writings, it is no less obvious that this is far from being the common acceptance of the word. Whether or not Paul himself originated this use of *δικαίω* is a question on which we should not like to pronounce very decidedly. For our present purpose it is enough to keep distinctly in mind that what we have stated is, by almost universal consent, the Pauline idea of the term. And then let it be remembered besides that this justification of a sinner, as such, before God, takes place *as soon as* a man believes the Gospel.

Now is there anything in the Epistle of James that necessarily demands our understanding him as using *δικαίω* in this Pauline sense? Knapp attempts to show that there is. For proof of the identity of meaning he refers to James ii. 14: ‘Can faith *save* a man?’ To say, however, that James used *σώζω* (to save) in this instance as synonymous with Paul’s *δικαίω*, is to beg one of the chief questions at issue in this whole inquiry ; and, as long as we are prepared with another interpretation of it, we are not shut up to this conclusion. In the only other instance that Knapp adduces to corroborate the identity of meaning attached to *δικαίω* by Paul and James, there is a still more glaring begging of the question. This instance is James i. 25: ‘This man shall be *blessed* in his deed ;’ where he understands *μακάριος* (blessed) as synonymous with Paul’s meaning of *δικαίω*. But who can fail to see that by

the one word Paul meant a *present* favour, whilst, by the other, James meant a *future* blessing? James, then, unlike Paul, does not, in any part of his Epistle, so explain, directly or indirectly, the idea which he attaches to the word *δικαίω*, as to lead us to understand, or compel us to believe, that he employed it in the Pauline sense.

Rather let us say, some few considerations can be adduced which may enable us to see that he did not, and could not, employ it in that acceptation. First: James assumes, as formerly observed, that he had to deal exclusively with persons who were already Christians, or *professed* to be so. If this be granted, it follows that they were *already* 'justified,' or assumed to be so, in Paul's sense of the term. Secondly: Knapp, and those who adopt his views, admit that the 'works' spoken of in James are *works of faith*. From that admission it follows that his readers were already in possession of faith; and, from their being in possession of faith, it follows, no less clearly, that they were already 'justified' in the Pauline sense. And thirdly: If Paul and James use the word *δικαίω* in precisely the same sense, we see not how they can be fairly harmonized. In this way Paul says—A man is justified by faith alone. James affirms—He is not. Paul says—Abraham was justified *without* works: whilst James affirms—He was justified *by* works. 'If then' (I quote from Richard Watson) 'St. James speaks of the same kind of justification, he contradicts St. Paul and Moses, by implying that Abraham was not pardoned and received into God's favour until the offering of Isaac. If no one will maintain this, then the justification of Abraham, mentioned by St. James, it is plain, does not mean the forgiveness of his sins; and he uses the term in a different sense from St. Paul.'

The way is now clear for our asking the question—Is there any other sense than the Pauline one in which *δικαίω* is used in Scripture? Most unquestionably there is. But before we state its meaning, it may be well to show that there are some instances where it *can-not*, without the grossest impropriety, have the same sense as that above alluded to, in Paul. *e. g.* In Matt. xi. 19 we read—'Wisdom is *justified* of her children.' And in Luke vii. 29, we read—'The publicans *justified* God.' It requires very little thought to see that in those instances, whatever it means, it *can-not* mean to absolve from condemnation through imputed righteousness—its Pauline sense. Luke, indeed, in three instances, is the only sacred penman that uses the word in the same signification as Paul, a fact on which great stress has been laid by some who contend for the Pauline origin of that sense; since Luke was a companion and fellow-labourer of Paul's,

Paul's, heard many of his spoken discourses, and probably read all his Epistles.

It is no rare thing to find *δικαίω* used in reference to *character*. And in such cases it means to approve, or to vindicate, or to declare one's character to be just as it should be. These are all very nearly different ways of expressing the same thing; and we do not mean to be understood as drawing any nice distinction between them, though we can very easily conceive that a thing may be approved of without any formal vindication or declaration to that effect. That *δικαίω* is used with this signification will be obvious from the following citation of instances: Luke vii. 29: 'The publicans justified'—approved of 'God;' ('*δικαίω* signifying to regard as just, to approve.' Olshausen *in loc.*). Luke vii. 35 and Matt. xi. 19: 'Wisdom is justified'—approved 'of her children;' ('*Δικαιοῦσθαι* must be taken in the sense of being approved just, hence to acknowledge as such.' Olshausen *in loc.*). Luke x. 29: 'He, willing to justify'—to vindicate 'himself.' Luke xvi. 15: 'Ye are they who justify yourselves'—show or declare yourselves righteous 'before men.' And Job xxxiii. 32: 'If thou hast any thing to say, answer me; speak, for I desire (Septuagint *δικαιοῦναι*) to justify thee'—to vindicate thy character. ('If he could, he wished to vindicate the character of Job from the aspersions which had been cast upon it.' Barnes *in loc.*). These instances then show, we think, very satisfactorily, that *δικαίω* is frequently used in Scripture as meaning to approve, or to vindicate, or to declare one's character to be just as it should.

Well, is there anything to prevent our understanding it in this sense in the Epistle of James? In the course of our reading upon this subject we have met with no decisive objection against such a construction of it, and there are none that occur to ourselves,—that is to say, if it can be shown to suit the context, and to meet the exigency of the case. That it does all this is what appears to us very clear. The word occurs but three times in the Epistle of James. Let us see if it will bear this construction in each of these instances. Chap. ii. 21,—'Was not Abraham our father justified'—vindicated as a truly pious man—'by works, when he had offered Isaac his son upon the altar?' Chap. ii. 24—'Ye see, then, how that by works a man is justified'—declared to be just as he should—'and not by faith only.' Chap. ii. 25—'Was not Rahab the harlot justified'—indicated as truly sincere—'by works, when she had received the messengers, and sent them out another way?' To the writer's mind these interpretations do not at all appear forced, but perfectly natural and legitimate. In this way we are taught by James that God approves of believers when their deportment is in conformity with His own mind and

will—when their works are in harmony with their profession. And when their final awards shall be distributed to men, the Judge will approve and vindicate the characters of Christians, in exact proportion to their works of faith and labours of love whilst in this world.

In the way of one's adoption of this view of δικαιῶω in James' Epistle, a difficulty may be presented to some by the use of σώζω (to save) in v. 14, 'Can faith *save* a man?' From the common acceptance of this word in Scripture we are apt, whenever it occurs, to associate with it the idea of salvation from sin's consequences, and from sin itself. On reflection, however, it is seen that it may be used respecting deliverance from *any* danger or calamity. We find it thus applied in the inspired writings; e. g. Matt. viii. 25, 'Lord *save* us'—from perishing in the waters. Matt. xxiv. 22, 'Except those days should be shortened, there should no flesh be *saved*'—from calamity and death. Acts ii. 40, '*Save yourselves* from'—the influence, opinions and fate of—'this untoward generation.' James v. 15, 'The prayer of faith shall *save*'—from sickness and death—'the sick.' When James therefore says in chap. ii. 14, 'Can faith *save* him?' he means to say, Can the faith which such a man says he has, *save* him from disapproval and final condemnation?

Another difficulty in the way of one's adoption of the view propounded of δικαιῶω in the Epistle of James, is found in his obvious allusion to the Pauline justification, in v. 23, 'And the Scripture was fulfilled which saith, Abraham believed God, and it was imputed to him for righteousness.' These words are employed by James as in some measure parallel with the close of the preceding verse—'by works was faith made perfect.' The idea appears to be that works was the *carrying out* of faith; faith led to those works, and its previous existence was confirmed by them. And when James says, immediately after, 'And the Scripture was fulfilled,' he does not mean that any *prediction* of Scripture was fulfilled, for what he refers to was not of the nature of a prediction. He simply means to say that the correctness and truth of what was previously written in Scripture concerning Abraham was *confirmed* by his succeeding works. Abraham believed God, and he was then justified as a sinner; and the offering up of Isaac evinced the reality of his previous faith and previous justification. The Pauline justification, both in the order of nature and in the order of time, is before that spoken of by James: and the works of which James speaks so largely, are the carrying out and confirmation of the Pauline justification.

And this is perhaps the proper place for an observation of a historico-philological nature. Δικαιῶω signifies to acquit or absolve from

from condemnation. According to Paul this is done in the case of the sinner through an imputed righteousness. After one is delivered from condemnation he stands in an entirely new relation. In that relation it is natural and proper to think that he should be regarded with approval, and, if need be, publicly declared to be just what he should. Thus does the justification contended for by James, stand closely related to the Pauline justification, and naturally flow from it. The one takes place the moment a sinner believes the Gospel; the other takes place *after* that—it may be a short time, or it may be a long time—in time or in eternity—or in both. In the justification that Paul speaks of, *faith* is the only thing that is taken into consideration; in the justification that James speaks of, it is *works* that are taken into consideration. Thus there is no discrepancy between them because they are not speaking of the same subject. What Paul says is true; and what James says is true. Each, in his own way, and upon his own subject, states vitally important truths. We believe in Paul's doctrine—we believe no less in James'.

II. The harmony between the two Apostles will be still further seen if we consider the meaning that they respectively attach to the term *ἔργα* (works).

The first thing to be very carefully observed is that James does not employ this word in the same way in which Paul employs it when speaking of the justification of a sinner before God. It is somewhat remarkable that this has been taken so little notice of by divines in this country. The fact, however, is indisputable, as any one may see if he will put himself to the trouble of consulting his Concordance. Paul adds to the word an explanatory clause which is never employed by James. Paul, when speaking upon this subject, uses the phrase 'works of the law.' James simply uses the term '*works*.' He never for once says 'works of the law.' This, to say the least of it, might prompt one to ask whether they employ *ἔργα* with reference to the same works?

The signification in which Paul uses *ἔργα* is a point on which there is considerable unanimity amongst expositors. Not that we would be understood as affirming that they all define it in the same phraseology, nor yet that they all attach the same ideas to it in *every* respect, but they do agree as to the idea on which we are disposed to lay the chief emphasis. Whether they will be unanimous in defining the phrase 'works of the law,' as meaning 'works which the law requires,' or 'perfect obedience,' or 'personal obedience,' they certainly will be unanimous in holding that by these Paul meant works performed *in order to be justified* in his sense of *δικαιώσω*.

And now is the time, and this the place, to ask, Does the

Apostle

Apostle James employ *ἔργα* in reference to works of that nature? It has too often been assumed that he does. But we have searched in vain for anything like substantial proof of it. The first aspect of things is against such an interpretation. He carefully avoids the phrase which characterizes Paul's meaning of the term. This suggests that he does not refer to the same class of works. Besides, before it can be proved that James employs *ἔργα* in the same way as Paul, it must be shown that they are speaking of the same justification. This, however, will not be very easily done. We have already endeavoured to prove the contrary. Then, if they are not speaking of the same justification, it would be most unreasonable to say that they are speaking of the same works. And, then, we are the less shut up to the conclusion that James is employing *ἔργα* with the above Pauline reference, if it can be shown that there is another use of the word which occurs in Scripture.

That there is another scriptural usage of the word it will now be our object to show. Thus we read in the following passages: Matt. v. 16, 'Let your light so shine before men that they may see your *good works*,' not, certainly, works in order to be justified in the Pauline sense, but works which were the appropriate fruits of that justification. Matt. xxvi. 10, 'Why trouble ye the woman? for she hath wrought a *good work* upon me;' not, assuredly, a work in order to be accepted and pardoned, but a work which was the legitimate fruit of her knowledge of the Saviour's love to her. Eph. ii. 10, 'Created in Christ Jesus unto *good works*,' not, by any means, works in order to acquittal from condemnation; for, being 'in Christ Jesus,' they were *already* so acquitted, since 'there is now no condemnation to them who are in him;' but works which proceeded from their knowledge of obligation to Jesus. And 1 Thes. i. 3, 'Remembering without ceasing your *work of faith*'—i. e., clearly, a work of gratitude which sprang from their knowledge of being already in a justified state.

Thus, then, it is clear that *ἔργα* is used in other parts of Scripture in reference to *works of faith*. Now is there anything to hinder our understanding it in that way in the Epistle of James? We know of nothing if the Apostle's object, the context, and the nature of the case, will admit of such a construction. Let us see. His object, as formerly stated, not only will admit of this, but seems even to demand it. The spirit of the context is a powerful exhortation to abound in every Christian work. And that this interpretation is far from being forced and unnatural will be seen if we try it: James ii. 14, 'What doth it profit, my brethren, though a man say he hath faith, and have not works'—flowing from his faith? v. 17--'Even so faith, if it hath not works'

—proceeding

—proceeding from it—‘is dead, being alone.’ v. 20, ‘Wilt thou know, O vain man, that faith without works’—emanating from it—‘is dead?’ (‘Not *without works*, but without *the works*, produced especially by faith.’ Winer, *Idioms*, p. 91.) And that the work of Abraham, referred to by James, the offering of Isaac, was a work of faith, is expressly taught in another part of the inspired volume: ‘*By faith* Abraham, when he was tried, offered up Isaac,’ Heb. xi. 17. Thus it appears most evident that by *ἔργα* James means works of faith.

At this stage of our progress it is proper that we should define precisely what we mean by this class of works. A son who is labouring under the displeasure of his father, and who wishes to enjoy his smiles, would very naturally endeavour to avoid this, or to do that, in order to gain his favour. That would not be a work of faith. It would rather be an instance of Paul’s meaning of the phrase *ἔργα νόμου* (works of the law). But the son who lives in the full enjoyment of his father’s favour, and who is conscious of it, will anxiously and cheerfully avoid everything he knows to be displeasing to his father, and as anxiously and cheerfully do everything he knows to be pleasing to him, not in order to obtain acquittal from condemnation, but because of the great kindness and love that he has already been, and is still made the subject of. These works of that son would be works of faith; and this may exemplify what James means by them. They are not works in order to procure deliverance from condemnation, but they are works proceeding from the knowledge of that high favour being already conferred; and works which, when done, are sure to secure for believers the approving smile of God, and will be ultimately followed by his public recognition of them before the assembled universe, and his declaration in favour of their truly pious character during their sojourn in this world.

From these explanatory statements it will be seen quite clearly that we employ the phrase ‘works of faith’ in a very different sense from Knapp, Frommann, and Stuart. They use it as representing some class of works co-existent with and entering so far into the ground of justification in the Pauline sense. According to our use of it, these works are neither co-existent with nor form any part of the ground of *that* justification: they flow from it, indeed, as the stream from the fountain, but they are posterior to it.

By keeping in view this difference of meaning in the word *ἔργα* as employed by the two Apostles the entire absence of anything like real discrepancy between them will be the more conspicuous. Paul speaks of ‘works of law’ in the sense above explained, whilst James refers to works of faith. The works that Paul refers to were meant to be performed *before*, those that James refers

to *after*, the Pauline justification had taken place. Paul repudiates all works *for* salvation, whilst James powerfully contends for the importance and necessity of works *from* salvation. The works that Paul speaks of were wholly unnecessary for, rather they were detrimental to, justification in his own sense; whilst those that James speaks of were absolutely essential to divine approval, and the declaration of it. When the works, then, of which they write differed in name, differed in time, differed in motive, and differed in end, how can it be imagined that Paul and James, in their respective statements, contradict one another?

In this harmonising process the continental theologians and those of this country seem to have pursued different methods, the former bringing about the reconciliation by understanding *ἐργα* in the Epistle of James as meaning *works of faith*, though, as we have seen, their construction of that phrase as a whole is very unwarrantable; and the latter by understanding *δικαίωσις* as used in one sense by Paul and in another by James. This last has been the method of reconciliation pursued by Fuller, Maclean, Wardlaw, Bennett, Payne, Alexander, and a writer in the *Biblical Review* for April, 1846. When Paul uses *δικαίωσις*, they understand him as meaning 'absolve from condemnation;' and when James employs it, they understand it as meaning 'to approve of or to declare one righteous.' Now to us it appears obvious that though, according to this latter mode, the seeming discrepancy between the Apostles is so far removed, it is far from being wholly done away. In order to its complete removal it is necessary to understand *ἐργα*, also, as used by Paul and James, in the different ways above explained and defined. No one need surmise that the adoption of one of these methods is subversive of the other. We are rather disposed to say that they strongly corroborate each other, and indeed go hand in hand. In this way the entire absence of anything like contradiction between Paul and James can be seen in more points of view.

In the light of the foregoing investigation and conclusions let us now look at the case of Abraham, which occupies so very prominent a place in the statements of both Apostles. Paul adduces Abraham as an exemplification of his doctrine that 'a man is justified by faith without the deeds of the law;' and James also adduces him as a corroboration of the fact that a man is justified by works, and not by faith only. With very many this has been an inexplicable difficulty. At first sight it seems to render the two Apostles absolutely irreconcilable: and it is not without deep search that one can discover for himself a satisfactory method of removing the apparent contradiction. Such a method, notwithstanding,

withstanding, there is. It is this:—Paul refers to one period, one fact, and one kind of justification; whereas James refers to quite another period, another distinct fact, and another different justification, in the history of Abraham. Paul's statement is (Rom. iv. 3), 'Abraham believed God, and it was counted to him for righteousness;' and then he refers to what is said in Gen. xv. 6. James' words are (ch. ii. 21), 'Was not Abraham our father justified by works, when he had offered Isaac his son upon the altar?' and there he refers to Gen. xxii. 1-12. What Paul refers to took place before the birth of Isaac, when the promise of that event was imparted to the Patriarch. The period that James alludes to is that when Abraham was ready to present his son Isaac as a burnt-offering. At this time, upon the lowest calculation we have met with, Isaac was twenty-five years of age. Hence the period in the life of Abraham that James had in his eye was *twenty-five years after* that spoken of by Paul. The *fact* in the history of Abraham that Paul alludes to was his belief of God's promise of a numerous posterity (inclusive of the Messiah). The fact that James refers to was the offering of Isaac, the former being the exercise of faith itself, the latter the appropriate fruit of it. The justification of Abraham which Paul alluded to was his deliverance from condemnation, as a sinner, on his belief of saving truth. The justification of the Patriarch that James had in view was God's approval of his conduct and character as a believer. Thus the case of Abraham, adduced by both Apostles, is looked at from different standing points, and drawn when he occupied very different positions. Paul looks at him from his own peculiar stand-point, and portrays the father of the faithful when in the act of believing what we should call the Gospel, and was absolved from the condemnation of the law. James contemplates Abraham from his particular stand-point, and delineates his position when, twenty-five years older, he was ready, in obedience to the Divine command, to offer his only son in sacrifice, and thereby obtained the approval and testimony of God. When the Patriarch was looked at in these different circumstances and attitudes, it would require a very dexterous hand to show that there is any contradiction between the respective portraiture of the two Apostles—both are true to the life.

Here it would be desirable to enter into a somewhat extensive exegetical development of the entire section (ii. 14-26) of James' Epistle, which appears to be at variance with the teaching of Paul. Regard for space, however, precludes us from this; and it must suffice to indicate in as cursory a way as possible the Apostle's train of thought and line of argument.

The *false position assailed*.—Mere faith is sufficient, not to gain
acquittal

acquittal from condemnation, for on that point they did not dispute, but to gain approval, human and divine.

Ver. 14. A *simple denial* of that position.—Can that faith, unaccompanied with works, save him from disapproval? No!

Ver. 15, 16. A *familiar illustration*.—For one to say to the naked and to the hungry, 'Be ye warmed and filled, yet give not the things which are needful,' would be of no use, and would never secure our approbation.

Ver. 17. The *analogy*.—Even so must we say of the faith that is unattended with works. It is dead, serves no purpose, and can neither secure human nor divine approval.

Ver. 18, first part. A *subterfuge*.—One is conceived of as saying, Thou art more distinguished for faith than I am, just as one man is more distinguished for liberality and zeal than another; that is *your* development of religion. But I am more distinguished for works than you are; that is, where *my* religion develops itself. But each, in its own way, is religion, and there is no need for dispute.

Ver. 18, second part. The *challenge*.—Produce an exemplification of faith without works, and I will produce an exemplification of faith producing works, that we may see which will commend itself to one's approval.

Ver. 19. *Exemplification of faith without works*.—A man believes in the existence of one God. That, so far as it goes, is well. But will that ensure approbation? *e. g.* the Jew, the deist. Besides, the devils believe—they believe in God, heaven, hell, eternity. But has it any salutary effect upon them? It only makes them tremble: and we who know that they believe all this are far from approving of them, and God is far from approving of them.

Ver. 20. The *appeal*.—The question here proposed may be regarded as having a retrospective and a prospective reference.

Ver. 21-23. *Exemplification of faith producing works*.—Abraham believed God. Here was faith. Long afterwards, under the influence of faith, he was ready to offer his only son in sacrifice. This was the carrying out of his faith, and it was the confirmation of a previous Scriptural statement regarding him. Thereafter he was called the 'Friend of God,' and we call one 'a friend' after we approve of his character and conduct.

Ver. 24. The *conclusion*.—As in the case of Abraham, so in the case of every other; not only must there be faith, but there must be works springing from it, in order to approval.

Ver. 25. *Additional confirmatory case*.—The conduct of Rahab is regarded with approbation (justified), not on account of what she said or professed, but because of the kind treatment she gave the messengers.

Ver.

Ver. 26. The *comparison*.—There are few sights more loathsome to us than a human body without a spirit; there can be nothing more useless; there is nothing that meets with so little approbation. Just as useless is faith without producing works, and with just as little approbation does it meet from either man or God.

It is scarcely possible for one whose mind is stored with Scripture truth to think very deeply upon the apparent discrepancy between Paul and James without observing that really, after all, there is very nearly as much seeming want of harmony between Christ's teaching at one time and his own teaching at another time as there is between these two Apostles. The instances exemplifying this in the Saviour's instructions are very numerous. We refer only to one or two. Mark xvi. 16: 'He that *believeth* shall be saved.' Contrast with this Matt. vii. 21: 'Not every one that saith unto me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven, but he that *doeth* the will of my father who is in heaven.' John iii. 16: 'God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten son, that whosoever *believeth* in him should not perish, but have everlasting life.' With this contrast Matt. xii. 37: 'By thy *words* thou shalt be justified, and by thy *words* thou shalt be condemned.' The discrepancy between these statements is just as apparent as between Paul and James; few, however, would be prepared to say that there is any real contradiction. There is a most important sense in which each of the representations is true. Precisely so have we shown it to be with Paul and James.

Still further, the same seeming want of harmony is observed even in the writings of Paul himself. We confine ourselves to one or two instances. Gal. ii. 16: 'Knowing that a man is *not justified by the works* of the law, but by the faith of Jesus Christ.' With this contrast Philip. ii. 12: '*Work out your own salvation* with fear and trembling.' Rom. iv. 5: 'To him that *worketh not*, but *believeth* on him that justifieth the ungodly, his *faith* is counted for righteousness.' And with this we may contrast 2 Cor. v. 10: 'We must all appear before the judgment seat of Christ, that every one may receive the *things done in his body, according to that he hath done*, whether good or bad.' The apparent discrepancy between these statements is very obvious; but very few would have such a mean conception of Paul, even throwing out of view his inspiration, as to believe that he was capable of contradicting himself. There is, then, some way in which a man is saved without works in this world, and there is also a kind of works according to which he will be judged at last.

The foregoing investigation has entirely failed in its object unless it has made it manifest that there is not one jarring note between

between Paul and James in the matter of a sinner's justification. If we have succeeded in showing this, nearly everything is gained; the objection of the infidel is satisfactorily met; the doubts of the critics respecting the Epistle of James, arising from this source, are seen to be unfounded; the error of those who join their own works, moral or evangelical, *along with* the Saviour's propitiatory sacrifice, as the ground of acquittal from condemnation, is seen in its true light; and the refuge of the thorough legalist, who supposes himself to be taking James as his guide, is exposed and shown to be false.

We may advance, however, a step or two further. Not only is there the absence of all contradiction between Paul and James—we may discover actual and exact agreement. We are not aware, indeed, that it can be shown from James' Epistle that he teaches anything *directly* about justification in the Pauline sense. Some have laboured to show that he does by implication, and, from the connection between verses 22 and 23, we ourselves believe in the correctness of that position. We are willing, however, for the sake of argument, to take the ground that he is *silent* upon the subject, as, from the foregoing examination, we are warranted in saying that he does not teach a contrary doctrine: and the calm and legitimate conclusion is, to take silence *as agreement*.

Whilst in this way we are justified in affirming that James agrees with Paul, we are still more so in saying that Paul agrees with James. We are just to remember that what James urged upon his Christian readers was to abound in works of faith and labours of love, so as to obtain God's approval and testimony. Every one familiar with the Epistles of Paul must be aware how prominently he kept the same thing, in the spirit of it if not in the same form, before the minds of believers. We need only remind the reader of the sixth chapter of the Epistle to the Romans; and in Rom. xii. 1, 2, he says, 'I beseech you, therefore, brethren, by the mercies of God, that ye present your bodies a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable unto God, which is your reasonable service. And be not conformed to this world; but be ye transformed by the renewing of your mind, that ye may prove what is that good, and acceptable, and perfect will of God.' And in Heb. xiii. 20, 21, he says, 'The God of peace . . . make you perfect in every good work to do his will, working in you that which is well pleasing in his sight.' Thus does Paul most perfectly agree with James.

ON THE IDENTIFICATION OF THE MUSTARD TREE OF SCRIPTURE.*

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NUMEROUS attempts have at different times been made by a variety of authors to identify the two plants which in the authorised version of the Scriptures are translated *Mustard Tree* and *Hyssop*. That these attempts have not been so satisfactory to others as to set the questions at rest, is evident from fresh plants being continually adduced, even in recent works, as possessed of the requisite characteristics. It may be inferred that these do not appear, to the author of this paper, to have been more successful than preceding endeavours, from his making a fresh, and which to many will appear a presumptuous, attempt to determine what has baffled so many able inquirers. Few fields, however, are so barren, even after they seem to have been cleared by the most skilful reapers, as not to yield some grains to the careful gleaner. So, continued attention to any one pursuit never fails to throw light, not only on itself, but also on other and what at first appear but remotely connected subjects. Thus it has been in the study of *ancient*, for the purpose of elucidating *modern* Materia Medica, and of both in connection with the botany of the East, that I have been led to conclusions, which seem to elucidate some of the disputed points of Biblical botany.

As this may require explanation, I may here mention, what I have elsewhere related,^b that my attention was first directed to the identification of the natural products mentioned in ancient authors, in consequence of having, in 1825, while in medical charge of the station of Saharunpore, and of the Honourable East India Company's Botanic Garden there, been requested by the Medical Board of Bengal to investigate the medicinal plants and drugs of India. This was for the purpose of ascertaining how far the

* From the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, No. XV., November, 1844. Reprinted by permission of the Author, and of the Council of the Royal Asiatic Society. This valuable contribution to Biblical botany has been revised by the Author, who has also added some new information in the notes. We have been favoured with permission to reprint the companion paper on the Hyssop, and hope to produce it in the next number of the Journal.

^b Proceedings of the Royal Asiatic Society, 19th March, 1836.

public service might be supplied with medicines grown in India, instead of these being nearly all imported from foreign countries. In endeavouring to effect this important object, my attention was in the first place directed to making myself acquainted with the different drugs, which the natives of India are themselves in the habit of employing as medicines. For this purpose I found it absolutely necessary to examine the things themselves, as well as to ascertain the names by which they were commonly known. I soon found that in this inquiry it was necessary to become acquainted with the written works in the possession of the natives of India, as well as with their personal and traditional information. I therefore caused the works on *Materia Medica* to be collated by competent Hakíms and Moonshees, among whom I would mention, as my principal assistants, Sheikh Nam Dar, commonly called Nanoo, the head medical assistant in the Civil Hospital of Saharunpore, and Murdan Aly, the chief plant collector, and keeper of the Herbarium in the Saharunpore Botanic Garden. By them the arrangement of these works, according to the Arabic alphabet, was persevered in; but the substances mentioned in each were arranged under the three heads of the Animal, the Vegetable, and Mineral Kingdoms. The works which were collated^c extend from A.D. 1392 to 1769, the first having been written shortly after the close of the classic age of the school of Bagdad. The Persian writers constantly follow the authors of this school. Al Buetar or Ibn Buetar,^d frequently quoted by Bochart in his *Geographia Sacra*, is the last of the distinguished Arabs, and he died in 1248. The first translation into Arabic from the Greek and Sanskrit having been made about A.D. 748, during the Kaliphate of Al-Mansur, was just five hundred years before the death of Ibn Buetar. During this period lived Haly Abbas, Mesue, Serapion, Rhazes, and Avicenna.

These Arab authors were indebted for much of their information respecting drugs to Dioscorides. But to his description the

^c Ikhtiarat Buddee, who completed his work in 770 of the Hejira, or A.D. 1392. He is said to be the first who wrote on Medicine in the Persian language.—Tohfet-al-Moomineen, written in A.D. 1669, by Meer Mohummud Moomin; a native of Tinkaboon, in Dailim, near the southern shores of the Caspian Sea.—Ulfaz Udwi-yeh, compiled by the physician of the Emperor Shah Jehan; translated into English by Mr. Gladwin, and printed in 1793. This is useful, as giving the synonyms in Arabic, Persian, and Hindooee, in the Persian character.—Mukhzan-ul-Udwi-yeh, or *Storehouse of Medicines*, written A.D. 1769, and printed at Hoogly, in 1824.—*The Taleef Shereef*, translated from the Persian by Superintending Surgeon Playfair, and published in Calcutta in 1833, has been referred to in a few instances.—Since my return to this country in 1832, having obtained copies of the Latin editions of Mesue, Serapion, Rhazes, and Avicenna, I have in many instances collated them with my manuscript catalogue.

^d The work of Ibn Buetar has been translated into German by Santheimer.

Persians have fortunately appended the Asiatic synonymes, and have given some account of Indian products not mentioned in the works of the Arabs. I myself made a catalogue (still in manuscript) of the whole of these, in which, after the most usually received, that is, the Arabic names, I inserted the several synonymes in Persian and Hindee, as well as in metamorphosed Greek. I obtained the articles, and traced them to the countries whence they were said to be derived, as well as to the animals and plants which were said to produce them. I also made notes of any remarkable characteristics, as well as of the medical uses to which they were applied.

Being without any suitable library for such investigations, and able only to obtain a small copy of Dioscorides (12mo. Parisii, 1549), I was in most cases obliged to depend upon myself, for the identification of the several substances. The results of many of these investigations are briefly recorded in the observations on the history and uses of the different natural families of plants in my *Illustrations of the Botany, &c., of the Himalayan Mountains*.^{*} I also made use of these materials in my *Essay on the Antiquity of Hindoo Medicine*,[†] in tracing different Indian products from the works of the Arabs into those of the Greeks, even up to the time of Hippocrates. I inferred that tropical products could only travel from South to North; and that the Hindoos must have ascertained their properties, and used them as medicines, before they became sufficiently famous to be observed and recorded by the Greeks. Having thus traced many of these eastern products to the works of almost contemporary authors, I was led to conclude, that many of them must be the same as those mentioned in the Bible, especially as there is often considerable resemblance between the Arabic and Hebrew names; as, for instance:—

HEB.	ARAB.	
Abattachim	Buteekh	Melons and Water-Melon
Adashim	Adas	Lentils
Butzal	Butzl	Onions
Botnim	Butum	Pistacio Nut
Cammun	Kumoon	Cumin
Carcom	Kurkoom	Crocus or Saffron

Some, again, would appear to have an Indian origin; as, for instance, Ahalim, translated aloes wood, which is, with very little doubt, the same as the Malayan Agila, or eagle wood, famed in

^{*} *Illustrations of the Botany and other Branches of the Natural History of the Himalayan Mountains, and of the Flora of Cashmere*, by J. Forbes Royle, M.D., F.R.S., &c. 2 vols. imp. 4to. with plates.

[†] *Essay on the Antiquity of Hindoo Medicine*, by the same. 8vo. 1837.

ancient as in modern times. So *karpas*, occurring in Esther i. 6, is translated *green* in the English Bible; but being placed between the words which signify the colours white and blue, it would naturally appear to be the thing coloured, which was, no doubt, *cotton*, *karpas*, from the Sanskrit *karpasa*, now in Hindee *karpas* and *kapas*. And, it is further said, in the description of the court of the garden of the King's palace at Susa, that these white and blue hangings were fastened with cords of fine linen and purple to silver rings and pillars of marble. Of this we have a vivid representation in what may every day be seen in India, especially in the Hall of Audience at Delhi, where huge padded curtains, called *purdahs* (and usually in stripes of white and red, or blue and white), may be seen suspended from the tops of slender pillars. For this purpose, indeed, the rows of pillars in front of the principal ruins of Persepolis appear to have been intended.

While residing in, and becoming acquainted with the manners of the East, I had often, in reading the Scriptures, been struck by the brevity and force with which the sacred penmen, in describing what was then before them, give a graphic picture of the living manners of the day. In the absence of medals, monuments, and inscriptions, and where the mouldered ruins of mighty cities allow us with difficulty to trace out even their sites, we are presented with the astonishing spectacle, that manners, which in Europe are fleeting and changeable as the wind, in the East give living representations of those which characterised the residents of the very same regions more than three thousand years ago. So conspicuously is this the case, that works have been written describing the manners, customs, and other characteristics of the East, for the express purpose of elucidating obscure passages in the Scriptures, as Roberts' *Oriental Illustrations of the Sacred Scriptures*. Some again, as Dr. Taylor in his *Illustrations of the Bible from the Monuments of Egypt*; and the *Athenæum*, Nos. 507, 508, and 509, have had recourse to the works of Rosellini, Champollion, Wilkinson, and others, on Egyptian antiquities, as revealing most minute particulars of the public and private life of the Egyptians, and thus affording 'important because undesigned confirmations of the historical veracity of the Old Testament.'

It is hardly necessary to mention how the geography of Palestine and of the other countries which were the scenes of the transactions described in Scripture, has in like manner been minutely examined for the purpose of illustrating the Scriptures, and from the earliest times. And yet even in this department, from the more careful researches, assisted by the knowledge of Arabic of Mr. Eli Smith, unexpected discoveries have been made by Messrs. Robinson and Smith in their most interesting and instructive

structive travels. On this subject, these travellers observe, 'There is in Palestine another kind of tradition, with which the monasteries have had nothing to do, and of which they have apparently in every age known little or nothing: I mean, the preservation of the ancient names of places among the common people. The Hebrew names of places continued current in their Aramæan form long after the times of the New Testament; and maintained themselves in the mouths of the common people in spite of the efforts made by Greeks and Romans to supplant them by others derived from their own tongues. After the Muhammedan Conquest, when the Aramæan language gradually gave place to the kindred Arabic, the proper names of places, which the Greeks could never bend to their orthography, found here a ready entrance, and have thus lived on, upon the lips of the Arabs, whether Christian or Muslim, townsmen or Bedouins, even unto our own day, almost in the same form in which they have also been transmitted to us in the Hebrew Scriptures.' *Biblical Researches*, i. p. 375.

I myself have long been of opinion that if similar pains were bestowed on the material substances mentioned in the Bible, and equal trouble taken to ascertain the natural history of the countries where the several events are described to have taken place, or with which there was commercial communication, much light would be thrown upon the Sacred Writings. For the products of nature, whether minerals, plants, or animals, are similar in structure and properties to what they were when man first made use of, or became acquainted with them. As those only which were most remarkable in appearance or properties would usually be cited, so many of those named in the Bible might be successfully ascertained, and afford most convincing proofs, of books having been written at the times and in the places to which they are usually ascribed. In this inquiry, as in that of the names of places, we have not only the traditional names of animals, plants, and minerals to assist us, but also those which are registered in the Arabic works on *Materia Medica*; as in these most of the useful substances of antiquity are described. Thus the cedar continues to be called *Erez*; lentils, *Adas*; the broom, translated juniper, is still known by the name *Rethem*: and many others might be adduced.^s

Considerable success has no doubt attended several of the attempts of naturalists to identify the natural history of the Bible. Confining our attention on the present occasion to plants only, we have Olaus Celsius, a friend of Linnæus, who did for the plants of the Bible what Bochart had done for the animals, and quite as well.

^s These have been referred to by the Author in the botanical articles in Kitto's *Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature*.

He gave the labour of fifty years to the elucidation of Biblical plants; and seems to have exhausted the learning of the subject, as far as illustrations from Greek and Roman writers, as well as from the works of the Jews and of many Arabic authors, are concerned. He also travelled in the East, and being acquainted with botany first gave precision to our knowledge; so that many of his determinations of the plants of the Bible remain undisputed. Other plants have been determined by the few naturalists who have visited the Holy Land for the purpose of identifying those of the Bible. Belon, who travelled in the East for three years (1546-1549), has given considerable attention to the plants and animals of the Bible, in his *Observations sur plusieurs Singularités et Choses Mémorables trouvées en Grèce, Asie, Judée, Egypte, Arabie, et autres Pays Etrangers*; Paris, 1588. Rauwolf, in the same century (1576-1579), travelled in Palestine, Syria, and Mesopotamia; and made it his especial business to make himself acquainted with the plants of those regions. His travels were translated into English under the auspices of Ray, and thus frequently escape notice, as the two volumes are usually called Ray's Travels. These have the advantage of valuable catalogues prepared by Ray, of the plants found in the East by Belon, Rauwolf, and others. Rauwolf's own plants were published in the *Flora Orientalis* of Gronovius; Leyden, 1755. Hasselquist, an enthusiastic pupil of Linnæus, travelled in the Holy Land for the express purpose of examining the plants of the Bible. He died at Smyrna in 1752. His papers were published by Linnæus himself, and a translation into English in 1766; and his *Flora Palestina* in Linnæi Opuscula. Besides these, Labillardière, Bové, Aucher-Eloy, and other travellers, have made us acquainted with many of the plants of Palestine. But we are still without a complete Flora of the Holy Land. Russel has given a list of the plants of Aleppo; and Forskal, Delisle, and others, of many of those of Egypt and of Arabia.

Notwithstanding the exertions of these several naturalists, many of the plants of the Bible still remain undetermined, and by some commentators nothing is considered so uncertain as the determinations which have already been arrived at. Though each of the above authors has ascertained some plants, or confirmed the determinations of others, the success has yet not been so complete, as might have been expected from the exertions which have been made. I am not aware of any modern botanist having applied himself to the study of the Flora of Palestine, for the purpose of elucidating the botany of the Bible.

The difficulties of identifying objects known to the ancients are no doubt considerable, as a knowledge is required, not only of
Natural

Natural History but also of some of the vernacular languages, to hold converse in with the natives, and to consult the works in which the useful plants or products may be described. We are besides without the proper means for making satisfactory investigations. For we do not yet possess a detailed Flora of Palestine, with the native names, properties, and uses of the several plants, and the situations in which they are found. With a simple Flora only, we should be at a loss among some thousand plants, to determine upon the hundred or so which are mentioned in the Bible. The properties which any particular plants possess, or the uses to which they are applied, necessarily restrict the attention to a smaller number, while the present native name might, in some cases, from its similarity to the Hebrew, lead us to an identification which we should have been at a loss for without this assistance. Even this is not sufficient, for we shall find that though some of the vernacular names are somewhat similar to the ancient Hebrew, yet this is not the case with many others. But yet these plants may have names in some of the cognate languages, which are so similar to the Hebrew, as to leave no reasonable doubt of their original identity. Even some of the Greek and Latin names are not so dissimilar, but that we may often suspect that they indicate the same thing. Many, however, of the substances mentioned in the Bible were the produce of commerce, and obtained from distant countries. For these, a knowledge of the natural history and languages of Syria and Palestine are without value. We must follow the routes of ancient commerce, and inquire into the products of the countries whence they are said to have been obtained. We shall find in many instances that similar substances continue to be produced in those countries, are still objects of commerce, and continue to be used for the same purposes, and in some cases present us even with so great a similarity in name, as to give us every reasonable assurance, that we clearly identify in the present product the ancient article of commerce.

It was in identifying some of these articles of ancient commerce, said to be the products of India, that my attention was first directed to the present subject. In following Indian products with Indian names, from India to Greece, as mentioned and described in the works of the Greeks, I inferred, as I have already stated, that their properties must have been investigated, and the substances made use of by the natives of India before they could have been known to distant nations, and become articles of foreign commerce. Hence I conceived myself entitled to infer the antiquity, to a certain degree, of medicine among the Hindoos (*v. Essay on the Antiquity of Hindoo Medicine*). In the course of these inquiries I perceived that the same course of investigation could be usefully pursued,

pursued, for ascertaining some of the substances mentioned in the Bible; in fact, many of them appeared to be the very same substances as those mentioned by the Greeks.

The works of nature through all ages retain uniformity of structure and of properties. Those most conspicuous for such as were useful or agreeable would be the first to be employed in early times. By these properties, and by the names in the vernacular languages, which also retain a surprising degree of uniformity to their ancient forms, we are led to considerable certainty in our results. We must, however, examine the history of the several substances in the only works which contain any detailed or special notice respecting them, that is, in those of *Materia Medica*, or the *Accounts of Drugs*. Among these in ancient times, as in the present day among Oriental nations, we shall find, that almost everything is mentioned which has any property either useful or agreeable. With this study we must conjoin a knowledge of the *Natural History*, or the *Mineralogy*, *Botany*, and *Zoology* of the countries whence the substances were obtained. We shall thus attain a degree of certainty in our results, which to many will appear surprising, and which will give a degree of precision and correctness in our inferences and conclusions, respecting the commerce and intercourse among ancient nations, of which the subject, from the remoteness of time and dearth of facts, did not seem to be susceptible.

In prosecuting such researches, it is, I conceive, in the first place, necessary to settle the principles upon which they should be conducted, and also, the kind of evidence we should consider satisfactory, as determining that any particular point had been made out. Some of these principles may appear too obvious to require being insisted on. They have nevertheless been entirely neglected in some investigations on these and similar subjects.

Confining ourselves at present to Biblical plants only, it is essential that any plant adduced, should correspond in properties with what it is supposed to be. 1st. It ought to be found in the countries where it is described, or to which allusion is made. 2ndly. It should possess the properties, or yield the products ascribed to it by the sacred penmen, or we ought to be able to show that such opinions were, or are, still entertained respecting its properties and products. 3rdly. As the above would only amount to probability, in consequence of the numbers of plants growing in the same situation, and often useful for the same purposes, the plant ought to have a name in some of the cognate languages, either ancient or modern, or better if in both, which has some similarity to the Hebrew name. In the same way with an article of commerce, we ought to be able to prove that it is, or was,

was, obtained from the direction or the countries named or pointed out, and that it has the properties which are ascribed to the ancient drug. We ought also, if possible, to show that it has a name in some of the languages of ancient or modern commerce, which is similar to that employed in the Hebrew or Greek languages, or one of which that employed in these languages seems to be only a translation.

Taking these principles as my guide, I shall endeavour to keep them closely in view in determining the plant which is translated **MUSTARD TREE**; and subsequently, I shall treat of **HYSSOP** in a similar manner.

The Mustard Tree of the New Testament has frequently engaged the attention of commentators. It still continues undetermined, because the common mustard plant is considered not to possess all the requisites; and it is difficult to find a plant in which are combined all the peculiarities of that alluded to in Scripture; that is, one producing a small seed; being sown in a garden; growing into a herb, and then into a large tree, which afforded shade and shelter among its boughs to the fowls of the air. In order to ascertain whether we can find any such plant, it is necessary to examine the passages in which the mustard tree is mentioned, that we may know the characteristics by which it was, and should in the present day be found to be, distinguished.

The mustard tree is first mentioned in one of the parables spoken by our Saviour at the sea-side; Matthew xiii. 31, 32: 'The kingdom of heaven is like to a grain of mustard seed, which a man took, and sowed in his field: Which indeed is the least of all seeds; but when it is grown it is the greatest among herbs, and becometh a tree, so that the birds of the air come and lodge in the branches thereof.' The same parable is mentioned in Mark iv. 31; and the tree is recorded as shooting out great branches, 'so that the fowls of the air may lodge under the shadow of it.' And in Luke xiii. 19, The kingdom of God 'is like a grain of mustard seed, which a man took, and cast into his garden; and it grew, and waxed a great tree; and the fowls of the air lodged' (κατασκεπηνοῦσιν, built nests, Matthew and Mark, κατασκεπηνοῦν, make their abode) 'in the branches of it.' The mustard tree is also mentioned by our Saviour in Matthew xvii. 20, 'If ye have faith as a grain of mustard seed,' ὡς κόκκον σινάπεως; an expression used metaphorically among the Jews, and meaning the smallest part; and nearly in the same words in Luke xvii. 6. In the original, the grain of mustard seed is called 'κόκκον σινάπεως,' and described as the smallest of seeds, 'μικρότερον μὲν ἐστὶ πάντων τῶν σπερμάτων,' which grows into a δένδρον, or tree; St. Luke says that it becomes a great tree, δένδρον μέγα.

Considerable

Considerable difficulty has been experienced in elucidating these passages, in consequence of the term *λάχανον*, usually denoting *garden herbs* in opposition to wild plants, being employed to designate the plant which was produced from the *κοκκον σινάπεως*, the grain of mustard seed. Though distinguished as the smallest of seeds sown in a *κηπος*, garden or plantation, this grew also not only into a *δένδρον*, tree, but into a *δένδρον μέγα*, great tree.

Making all due allowance for the figurative and the Oriental form of expression, it does seem evident that the plant here indicated was *arboreous* in habit; though it certainly may appear contrary to nature that a herb of the garden should ever grow into a tree, in the great branches of which birds would build their nests. Indeed, if we were to take this term literally, most herbaceous plants would be excluded, as few are fit for such a purpose at the season when birds build their nests. On this it might be observed, that both in Syria and Egypt, the crops being sown in autumn and reaped in spring, the plants might be sufficiently grown for the purpose. But here again we may reply, that their instinct would leave them to select a more secure locality than a crop which was constantly disturbed by the cultivator and watchmen, and liable to be cut down. It is, however, quite possible to have a tree cultivated almost like a herb. This may be seen in the mulberry cultivation of Bengal, where the object is to have soft and herbaceous leaves, as food for the delicate silk-worm.

Commentators have usually taken it for granted that the common mustard plant, or some nearly allied species, is the plant; and have attempted various modes of explaining what appears to them the several discrepancies in the parable of the Mustard Tree. Sir Thomas Browne says, 'if we recollect that the mustard seed, though it be not simply and in itself the smallest of seeds, yet may very well be believed to be the smallest of such as are apt to grow into a ligneous substance, and become a kind of tree.' This is probably the proper view to take of the subject, especially as we are informed by Buxtorf, as quoted by Rosenmüller (*Botany of the Bible*, p. 104), that the later Hebrews used proverbially to compare to a mustard seed any thing very small and insignificant; and he refers for the proverbial use of the expression *Garghir hachardal*, to Buxtorf's *Lex. Chald. Talmud.*, p. 822. On this, Rosenmüller remarks that, 'in a proverbial simile, no literal accuracy or strictness is to be expected, and we ought, therefore, not to be surprised that the mustard seed is spoken of as being "smaller than all other seeds," although it is well known that smaller seeds are to be found.'

Most have adopted the idea, that the parable of the common mustard seed producing a large tree, may be best explained by supposing

posing that this is caused by luxuriant growth in a richer soil and warmer climate. Dr. Clarke, for instance, observes, 'some soils being more luxuriant than others, and the climate much warmer, raise the same plants to a size and perfection far beyond what a poorer soil, or a colder climate, can possibly do.' On this I may observe that it does not by any means follow that plants which are at home and flourish in the soil and climate of Europe, will, when cultivated in a warmer and at the same time drier climate, grow more luxuriantly. The majority of them will, on the contrary, wither away or be dwarfed.

In conformity to the foregoing view, Scheuchzer has described and figured (*Physica Sacra*, tom. viii., p. 59, Tab. DCLXXXIII.) a mustard plant which grows several feet high, with tapering stalk; and which spreads into many branches. The *Sinapis erucoides* of Linnæus is also adduced as a species attaining considerable size, and having a wood-like structure. Captains Irby and Mangles, in their journey from Byzan to Adjeloun, met with the mustard plant growing wild, as high as their horses' heads.

Mr. Frost, a few years since, published a small pamphlet which obtained considerable attention among literary men, in which he attempted to prove that *Phytolacca dodecandra* was the δένδρον μέγα of the Scripture, and its seed the κόκκον σινάπεως. He asserts that the above plant grows abundantly in Palestine; that it has the smallest seed of any tree; and attains as great, or even greater altitude than any other in that country, of which it is a native. As the only attempt at anything like a proof is, that the North Americans call *P. decandra*, poke weed, or wild mustard, this opinion has never received the support of scientific men, because it is not known that the plant adduced has ever been found in Palestine, or even in Asia.

Before proceeding further, it is necessary to determine what are the characteristics of the mustard tree of Scripture, and what we must look for, in any plant supposed to be it.

In the first place, it appears to me that it must be what is strictly called a tree, perennial in nature, and woody in texture; and growing to some considerable size. It ought, moreover, among the trees of the forest, to have a small seed, for it does not appear necessary that its seed should be the smallest of all seeds. Nor, indeed, is it probable that the smallest seed of any tree, or indeed of any garden herb, is the smallest of all seeds. 2ndly. The Sinapis, or mustard plant of Scripture, if not what is now commonly understood as the mustard plant or some analogous species of Sinapis, ought to be a tree having similar properties. For we find that the ancients often grouped together plants and drugs, not so much from resemblance in external appearance as from the possession

possession of similar properties. Thus the black and white hellebore, the black and white bryony, the greater and lesser centaury, were produced by plants having no external resemblance to each other; but the drugs which they yield have similar medical properties. 3rdly. The plant ought to have a name in the language of the country similar to that by which the common mustard plant is itself distinguished.

None of the plants hitherto adduced appear to me to meet the difficulties of the case in a satisfactory manner. Much more to the purpose, though little taken notice of, are the quotations from Talmudical writings, disparaged by Rosenmüller and others, because they seem to suppose that the passages alluded to, apply only to the common mustard plant. Thus the Babylon Talmud says, there was left to a man in Shechem, by his father, a mustard tree having three boughs of *chardal*, and one of the number being taken was found to afford nine cabs of mustard; and its wood was sufficient to cover the shed of a potter. So in the Jerusalem Talmud, R. Simeon Ben Chalogta says, 'a chardal tree was in my field, which I was wont to climb, as men climb into a fig-tree.' Instead of animadverting on these passages, as if they were exaggerated statements respecting the common mustard plant, it would have been more philosophical to have inquired whether there was any tree of Palestine to which the above description and name could apply: and also, what was likely to have been the name by which our Saviour spoke of the mustard tree, when addressing in parables the people of Syria in the language of their country.

The language in which our Saviour addressed his parables was no doubt the Hebrew or one of the cognate dialects, as the Syriac or Western Aramaic, which formed the common language of Palestine at that time; and both are so closely allied to the Arabic, that many words are identical in all three. Thus the above *chardal*, in the Hebrew signifying mustard, is no doubt the same word as the Arabic خردل *khardal*, also signifying mustard and mustard-seed throughout the East. But the New Testament having been written in Greek, we have only the Greek *sinapis*, where the Arabic *chardal* may have been spoken. Though this word *chardal* is not found in the Old Testament, a word very similar to it (חַרְלִיל *charul*) occurs in no less than three passages, in all of which it is translated *nettles* in the Authorized Version. Thus in Proverbs xxiv. 30, 31, 'I went by the field of the slothful, &c., and lo, it was all grown over with thorns, and nettles (*charullim*) had covered the face thereof.' Again, in Job xxx. 7, it is said, 'Among the bushes they brayed: under the nettles (*charullim*)

(*charullim*) they were gathered together.' And thirdly, in Zephaniah, ii. 9. As translators and commentators had no means of determining what plant was intended, different plants, chiefly of a thorny nature, have been fixed upon by different authors. Nettles have, however, had the greatest number of suffrages. But we have no proof that *charul* means a nettle, neither does it appear needful that it should; or that a thorny or prickly plant is necessary to complete the sense of the passages. For in the first passage, it only appears that fields which are uncultivated or neglected become covered with weeds; and in the passage of Job,—such as idlers may take shelter in, or take refuge among. The Arabic *khardal*, being evidently the same as the Hebrew *chardal*, and this being very similar to *charul*, I feel disposed to think that it may have the same meaning, or be applicable to one of the kinds of *khardal* or mustard; and we know that nothing so readily springs up in neglected corn-fields as the *charlock*, *chadlock*, or *kedlock*, as it is called in different parts of this country, and which is the *sinapis arvensis* of botanists. Art. CHARUL, *Cyclop. Bibl. Literature*.

Before proceeding to show to what plant the term *khardal* appears to be applied in the present day, I may first mention how my own attention was directed to the subject. This was in consequence of being asked, some time last year, by the Right Rev. the Bishop of Lichfield, then Principal of King's College, London, whether I was acquainted with what was supposed to be the Mustard Tree of Scripture. I replied that I was not, as I had paid attention chiefly to those substances which had formed objects of ancient commerce, rather than to the natural products of Palestine; but that I had no doubt that some plant indigenous in that country would be found possessed of the requisite qualities. His Lordship then informed me that Mr. Ameuny, a native of Syria, and student of the College, then attending the theological class, had said that he was perfectly well acquainted with the tree. Dr. Lonsdale added, that his description seemed to correspond with everything that was required. On seeing Mr. Ameuny, and asking him whether he knew any tree which answered to the Mustard Tree of Scripture, he replied, that he was perfectly well acquainted with one; had often seen it, as it was growing in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem; and that it was large enough for a man to stand under on horseback. I asked him what it was called: he replied, that it was everywhere known by the name of *khardal*. I observed, that that is the Arabic name for common mustard. He said, 'So it is; and it is also applied to the seeds of this tree, which are universally employed throughout Syria as a substitute for mustard, of which they have exactly the taste

taste and properties.' Mr. Ameumy was unable to give me any further information respecting it.

Previously to this, but without paying any particular attention to the subject, I had conceived that *Vitex agnus castus* might be the Mustard Tree of Scripture, as it grows to the size of a good-sized shrub, with woody stem, and its seeds have sometimes been called *piper agreste*. I also thought that it might be one of the larger *Capparideæ*, which grow to a considerable size, have berried fruit containing numerous small seeds, and one of which is described by Belon as 'Capparis Arabica fructu ovi magnitudine, semine piperis instar acre.' The flower-buds and seeds of the caper of Mount Sinai, *capparis sinaica*, are pickled; and the latter are called *filfil-i-jibbul*, mountain-pepper. But as there did not appear any proof in favour of any of these, the investigation was not pursued.

Having ascertained that the name *khardal* was in the present day applied to a tree in Palestine, the next point was to ascertain its name and nature, so that it might be seen whether it was in all points answerable to what was required. In referring to the ordinary Arabic dictionaries, and lists of drugs in the Latin editions of Avicenna, Serapion, and Rhazes, *chardal* and *cardel* are given as synonymes of *sinapis* only. In the *Ulfaz Udwiye*^h, translated by Mr. Gladwin, three kinds of *خردل khardal* are mentioned: 1st. No. 844, *khirdul*; Hindee, *reiy*, mustard. 2nd. No. 784, where *khirdul biree* and *jungle-rie*, translated wild mustard, are given as synonymes of *hirasha roomee*; and the 3rd kind, No. 853, is *khirdul farsee*. In my own catalogue of Asiatic Materia Medica, 1. *خردل* is given as the synonym of *raee*, that is, of mustard. *Sinapis juncea*, &c. (*Decand. Prod.* ii. 612), is the *khurdal* of Forskal, according to Delisle; and this is clearly allied to *Sinapis integrifolia*, &c. (*Decand.* ii. 612). 2. *خردل بري khardal burree*, or *jungle rae*, wild mustard, is the second kind, though it is difficult to say what plant is intended. 3. *Khardal roomee*, Persian, *hirasha roomee*, translated in Hindee *jungle rae*, or wild mustard; of this the seeds, like those of the former kinds, are described as being stimulant. But neither in this list nor in the previous quoted *Ulfaz Udwiye*^h was I able to obtain any information respecting the nature of the plant. But the term *roomee* is by Asiatics usually used in reference to Constantinople, or to the Turkish empire; and I may observe that the kind called *hirasha farsee*, or Persian mustard, in the *Ulfaz Udwiye*^h, is called *khardal roomee*, or Turkish mustard, in my notes.

Finding by this investigation that several kinds of *khardal*, or
mustard,

mustard, were known to Asiatics, and that this name was applied to a tree of Syria, it was extremely desirable to obtain, if possible, its name in scientific works, so that we might ascertain whether it possessed all the characteristics of the mustard tree. For this purpose, among other places, I referred to the index of my *Illustrations of Himalayan Botany*, where several Arabic names are mentioned, together with the names of the plants to which they are applicable. In this I did not find *khardal*, but a word so similar to it, that I was induced to refer to it in the body of the work, and was surprised to find that it referred to a tree which, not only in name but in properties, corresponded very closely with what is required for the mustard tree. For instance, under the natural family of Chenopodeæ it is mentioned that 'Salvadora, which is placed in this order by Jussieu, but by Bartling in Myrsineæ, is a genus common to India, Persia, and Arabia; and the same species, *S. persica*, occurs in the Circars, north of India, and the Persian Gulf. Along with this another species is found on the banks of the Jumna, and from Delhi to Saharunpore. This is *S. indica*, Royle, *jāl* of the Hindus, *irak hindiee* of Persian authors, who also give this tree the name of *Miswak*, or tooth-brush tree.^b *S. persica* is called *Khurjāl* in North India, *arak* and *irak* in works on *Materia Medica*. The bark of the root is acrid, and raises blisters (Roxb.). A decoction of the bark of the stem is considered tonic, and the red berries are said to be edible' (Royle, *Illust. Bot. Him. Mountains*, p. 319).

On referring to the work of Dr. Roxburgh, mentioned above, the *Flora Indica*, vol. i., p. 389, it may be seen that a figure is given of the tree in his *Coromandel Plants*, vol. i., pl. 26, of which the Telungu name is *Pedda-warago-wenki*. He describes it as a middle-sized tree, a native of most part of the Circars, though by no means common; it seems to grow equally well in every soil; produces flowers and ripe fruit all the year round. This fruit consists of 'berries very minute, much smaller than a grain of black pepper, smooth, red, juicy; seed one.'

Of the properties of the plant Dr. Roxburgh continues to say: 'The berries have a strong aromatic smell, and taste much like garden cresses. The bark of the root is remarkably acrid, bruised and applied to the skin soon raises blisters, for which purpose the natives often use it; as a stimulant it promises to be a medicine possessed of very considerable powers' (Roxb., l. c., p. 390).

This plant was described in 1780 by Retz, in *Obs. Bot.* iv. p. 24, under the name of *Embelia grossularia*, who stated that he

^b Can this be the plant to which Burckhardt alludes as the tree of which the Affghans make tooth-brushes on their pilgrimage to Mecca?

obtained

obtained it from König, from Tranquebar. His description agrees in all respects with that of Roxburgh. Colonel Sykes found it in the Dekhan; and it is mentioned in his *Manuscript Catalogue*, p. 250, as known to the natives by the name of *meru*, and that its fruit tastes like cresses. In the catalogue of the plants growing in Bombay and its vicinity, *Salvadora persica* is mentioned as growing near the sea in both Concans. Dr. Gardner has lately discovered it in Ceylon.

The late Sir A. Burnes, in his voyage up the Indus, mentions *Salvadora persica*¹ (*Travels*, vol. iii. p. 122) under the name *peeloo*, as met with near Mooltan, and in all the tracts of saline soil that border on the Indus and Punjáb rivers, and especially in the Delta of the Indus and lower parts of Sinde, and states that its seeds in taste resemble watercresses, and that he found the fruit exposed for sale in the bazars of Mooltan. He supposes it to be the plant alluded to in Arrian's Indian History, as having leaves resembling those of the laurel, and growing in places within the influence of the sea.^k But there does not appear to me any proof of this identity. Lieutenant Welsted also mentions it as occurring on the southern coast of Arabia.

Before proceeding further in attempting to identify this tree with the Mustard Tree of Scripture, it is desirable to refer to the original description of this plant, which we find in the *Philosophical Transactions* for 1749, p. 491, in a paper written in French, by Laurence Garcin, M.D., F.R.S., of Neufchâtel in Switzerland, but translated by Dr. Stack.

This plant is woody. It grows sometimes into a tree, sometimes into a shrub, and sometimes into a bush. Its native countries are the parts adjacent to the Persic Gulf, the north of Arabia, and the south of Persia.^m It is most commonly found along high roads and in dry and low places, delighting in the hottest and driest places, more so even than palm trees. Dr. G. had not met with it in Surat or Bengal, where there are regular rainy seasons every year. The inhabitants of the Gulf call this

¹ Dr. Stocks has met with this plant near Kurrachee, in Scinde, where he states its fruit is called *kurwa peeloo*, and is ripe in February; and from its roots come the tooth-brush sticks, in Persian *Irak*. He mentions it as remarkable for bearing abortive berries, that is berries without seeds, in the month of October, but also intermixed with ripe and perfect berries in the winter. Dr. S. has also met with *Salvadora indica*, Royle, about Tehwan, where it is called Sadahjar, and grows very fine. Its fruit is sold in all bazars there, and can be prepared and preserved so as to keep for a long time.

^k The same intelligent observer has identified the tree, with laurel-like leaves, growing within the influence of the tides, with species of *Ægiceras*, *Rhizophora*, and *Avicennia*, which line the sea shores of Scinde.

^m Mr. Bennett informs me that there are specimens in the British Museum from Muscat, collected by Aucher-Eloy.

shrub

shrub by the name of *Tchuch*. It varies considerably in size ; is usually a larger sort of shrub. It produces a number of boughs without order, and very tufted branches, which most commonly hang down to the ground. Its bark is moderately thick, sometimes smooth, sometimes full of cracks, of an ash colour, both in the trunk and branches, but green on the tender shoots. The wood is everywhere brittle, and nearly of a straw colour.

The leaves in shape nearly resemble those of the sea purslain, and sometimes those of the misletoe of the apple tree. They are often covered with excrescences of different sizes and shapes—round, oval, and sometimes very large. They are the work of the flying insects which abound in those parts.

The flowers are disposed in clusters on the tops of the shoots. These bunches of flowers entirely resemble those of the vine blossom.

The pistil or embryo of the fruit afterwards swells in all dimensions, and grows into a berry, in the shape and size of a gooseberry (currant?) of three or four lines in diameter ; at first it is of a pale green, then a bright purple, and, in its maturity, of a dark red. Each berry is supported on a strong thick pedicle, attached to a small branch. Its substance is white transparent flesh, full of juice, much resembling jelly, which surrounds a single round grain, marbled with black or brown spots, as in the tortoise-shell, when ripe. This grain is as large as a grain of hemp-seed, that is, about two lines in diameter ; but sometimes less. It is properly a kernel, or a shell that has a cavity, which incloses a sort of little round almond of a straw colour, yellowish on its outward surface, and pale in its inward substance, which is pretty firm. All the parts of our plant have an acrid, pungent taste and smell, vastly like our garden cresses, but more biting. The fruit is the most pungent part of the whole. The smell of the plant is perceptible at seven or eight paces distance, when a person is to leeward.

The natives of the country use it against the bite of the scorpion, by rubbing the wounded part with its bruised leaves. They also employ its warm infusion to wash the bodies of their children, in order to keep them healthy ; and they feed camels with it, who love it naturally.

Dr. Garcin, finding that this plant did not correspond in characters with any previously described plant, established a new genus, and applied to it the name *Salvadora*, in honour of M. Salvador, of Barcelona, a very skilful botanist, of whom M. Tournefort makes mention in the Introduction to his *Institutiones Rei Herbæræ*, where he styles him the Phoenix of his nation, because he was really the richest naturalist, and the most expert botanical

botanical traveller that Spain ever produced. Dr. Garcin also herborized with him before the siege in 1713 and 1714; and says, 'I thought it incumbent on me to do honour to his memory, by giving his name to this plant, and I have done it with the greater justice, because it is certain that, had he lived, he would have given a history of the plants of Spain, which by its accuracy would have afforded much pleasure to the botanists of Europe.'

This plant is also described by Forskal, in his *Flora Ægyptiaco-Arabica*, published by Niebuhr in 1775, under the name of *Cissus arborea*, which he found at several places, as he mentions that at Surdud it is by the Arabs called رديف *redif*; at Dabhi, رَاك *rāk*;^a at Hashad (*Káhsad*), the tree is called ارك *örk*, and the fruit كبات *kebáth*. He also states that it is held in high esteem by the Arabs; that the fruit is edible, when ripe; the leaves when bruised applied upon the tumours called *harm*, &c.; that it is also so famed as an antidote against poisons, as to be celebrated in a song by some Arab poet:—

اراق النبات بطلع نبات مدور

يبع ثبات من الرجال الكلمي

He describes it as a shrub with smooth stem opposite drooping branches, with the flowers arranged in terminal branches, which are afterwards followed by berries about the size of a pea, and which contain a single seed.

Mr. Bennett informs me that the *Salvadora persica* was found in Egypt by Sir G. Wilkinson. Delisle gives as the locality 'in Monte Gharab Egypti superioris.' Endlicher, in his *Genera Plantarum*, assigns as the geographical distribution of *Salvadora persica*, 'per Asiam mediam, ab India superiore ad mare Mediterraneum, per Africam borealem a Nilo ad Senegambiam.'^o

Having

^a In Indian writers we have seen that ارك *irak*, is applied to the same tree.

^o Mr. Johnson, in his recently published and interesting work, intitled, *Travels in Southern Abyssinia*, says, 'The Moomen, or tooth-brush tree (*Salvadora persica*) abounded at Sakeitaban. Several of the Hy Soumaulee brought me a handful of the berries to eat; but I was soon obliged to call out, "Hold, enough!" so warmly aromatic was their flavour. This singular fruit grows in drooping clusters of flesh-coloured, mucilaginous berries, the size of our common red currants, each containing a single round seed, about as large as a pepper-corn. The taste at first is sweet, and not unpleasant, and by some, I think, would be considered very agreeable indeed. After some little time, if many are eaten, the warmth in the palate increases considerably, and reminded me of the effect of pepper, or of very hot cress. As we approached the river Hawash, I found these trees growing more abundantly. The moomen forms a dense bush, some yards in circuit, and as their sleek, velvety, round leaves, of a bright green colour, afford an excellent shade, they form the favourite

Having traced this tree, which so singularly coincides in name and in properties with what is required for the Mustard Tree of Scripture, from the extremity and coasts of the Peninsula to the North-Western provinces of India, and from that to the Persian and Arabian Gulfs, it is necessary for our purpose to ascertain that it is also found in Palestine. But in this I was long unsuccessful, as I was unable to find any notice in systematic botanical works, or in local Floras, of the prevalence of *Salvadora persica*, to the north of the situations in which Forskal had found it. I therefore had recourse to the works of travellers, especially of those who had paid some attention to natural history; but I was still unable to find any notice of such a plant in any of the lists of the Flora of Palestine. I then referred to the excellent digest of the information on Natural History subjects contained in books of travels in Palestine, in Dr. Kitto's *Physical Geography and Natural History of the Holy Land*, where at p. ccliii., with other unknown plants, I found an extract which is directly applicable to our subject:—

‘Advancing towards Kerek, from the southern extremity of the Dead Sea, Captains Irby and Mangles soon, on leaving the borders of that sea, entered into a very prettily wooded country, with high rushes and marshes. Leaving this, the variety of bushes and wild plants became very great: some of the latter were rare, and of remarkable appearance. “Occasionally we met with specimens such as none of our party had seen before; a botanist would have had a fine treat in this delightful spot. Amongst the trees which we knew, were various species of acacia, and in some instances we met with the dwarf mimosa: we saw also the *doom*;’^p and the plant which we saw in Nubia, and which Norden calls the *oschar* (*Asclepias procera*). There was one curious tree which we observed in great plenty, and which bore fruit in bunches, resembling in appearance the currant, with the colour of the plum. It has a pleasant although strongly aromatic taste, exactly resembling mustard; and, if taken in any quantity, produces a similar irritability of the nose and eyes to that which is caused by taking mustard. The leaves of the tree have the same pungent flavour as the fruit, although not so strong. We think it probable that this is the tree our Saviour alluded to in the parable of the Mustard Seed, and not the mustard plant which we have in the north; for although in our journey from Byssan to Adjeloun we met with the mustard plant growing wild, as high as our horses’ heads, still, being an annual, it did not deserve the appellation of

favourite lairs, both of savage man and of wild beasts. Reposing upon the ground, near the roots, free from underwood and thorns, whoever or whatever lies there is entirely covered from sight; and not unfrequently a leopard or a hyæna skulks out of, or a startled antelope bounds from, the very bush that the tired Bedouin has selected for his own retreat from the sun.’—*Travels*, vol. i. p. 424. *Moomen* is also the name of pepper, Mr. Johnson informs me.

^p Not the Doom Palm of Egypt (*Cucifera thebaica*.)

a 'tree,' whereas the other is really such, and birds might easily, and actually do, take shelter under its shadow." *Travels*, p. 363; and p. 107 of Mr. Murray's edition, forming a volume of the *Colonial Library*.'

From this it is, I think, quite evident that Captains Irby and Mangles fell in with the very tree of which we are in search and have traced to Arabia; and which they were therefore the first to recognize as the Mustard Tree of Scripture, though their discovery has not attracted the degree of attention which it deserved. Their description is brief and imperfect, yet it contains enough to have convinced me, on first reading it, that the tree was the *Salvadora persica*. The properties being the same would not prove the point, for many plants have warm and spicy seeds, though we may not have succeeded in tracing them into Palestine. But when in conjunction with these properties we have it mentioned as a tree, having its fruit in bunches, something like the currant (whence no doubt Retz's name of *Grossularia*), we have a combination which is not usual among the trees of Europe, nor, as far as I am aware, among those of Syria and Palestine. It is more than probable, that it is to this tree that the name *chardal* is applied by Talmudical writers; who state that it was large enough to be climbed like a fig-tree; that its branches spread over like a tent. These statements have been considered unworthy of notice by Dr. Harris, Rosenmüller, and others. But it is without doubt to the same tree that Mr. Ameuny applies the name *khardal*, and the seed of which he informs me is usually employed in Palestine for the purposes of mustard.

On further inquiry of Mr. Ameuny (now attending my own class at King's College), where this *khardal* tree was found, he informed me that he had seen it all along the banks of the Jordan, and very abundant in the neighbourhood of the Lake of Tiberias, and near Damascus. He also stated that it was so generally recognized in Syria as the Mustard Tree of Scripture, that the Reverend Storey Hebard had carried specimens of the plant from the shores of the above lake to Jerusalem, not as a rarity, because the *khardal* tree is also found there, but as specimens to send to America, from the very locality where our Saviour had spoken the parable of the Mustard Tree.

As specimens of the plant, or accurate descriptions of it by a qualified botanist, would alone satisfy others of the existence of this plant in the above localities, and knowing that my friend Dr. Lindley had seen the collections of Bové, and those made in the expedition of Colonel Chesney, I wrote to him to inquire whether among these plants he had seen any specimens of *Salvadora persica*; and he informed me in reply, that *S. persica* was found

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on Mount Sinai by M. Bové, but that he had not seen it among the plants collected in Colonel Chesney's expedition. This is, however, an interesting locality, as it thus connects the Arabian localities with those in which it had been found by Captains Irby and Mangles.

Having proceeded thus far, that is, having found in India a tree called *khurjal*, which has the same properties as the *khardal* of Syria, and then ascertained that *Salvadora persica* (the *khurjal* of Northern India) is found along the Persian Gulf and the coast of Arabia, even up to the neighbourhood of Mount Sinai, I thought that I had been the first to infer from their description that this was identical with the tree found by Captains Irby and Mangles, on the southern coast of the Dead Sea. But I was surprised in looking, with a totally different object, at Dr. Lindley's *Flora Medica*, to find the *Salvadora persica* there mentioned as the tree supposed to be the Mustard Tree of Scripture. Having only recently obtained this information, I have been unable to ascertain the grounds upon which this supposition was entertained, as upon inquiry of Dr. Lindley he was unable to refer me exactly to the place where the speculation had been entertained either by Mr. Lambert or by Mr. Don. But as my own conclusions had been arrived at by an independent course of investigation, to which I had been led by the Asiatic synonymes of the plant which is supposed in Syria to be the Mustard Tree of Scripture, I conceive them worthy of presentation to the Society as tending to confirm those of other inquirers.¹

On mentioning this subject casually to Mr. Bennett, of the British Museum, and Secretary to the Linnæan Society, he was good enough immediately to seek out the information, and favour me with the accompanying remarks, which were read at the meeting of the Asiatic Society, on the 20th of April:—

‘I find that both Don and Lambert have published notes on the Mustard Tree, suggested by the communications of Captains Irby and Mangles; but that both (instead of adopting) object to the inference of those travellers, that the tree observed by them was the Mustard Tree of Scripture, at the same time that they positively identify the Captains' tree with *Salvadora persica*, L.

‘Don's observations are in Jameson's *Edinburgh New Philosophical Journal*, vol. ii. p. 806. After quoting the passage from Irby and Mangles, he says, “On reading this passage, both Mr. Lambert and myself felt interested in ascertaining what the tree might be, and at first we were inclined to suppose it was a species of *Phytolacca*, with which genus the habit of the plant, as far as could be learnt from the

¹ The paper, as originally read before the Royal Asiatic Society, with the exception of the last paragraph of the present one, concluded at this place.

above description, pretty well accords; but the examination of an authentic sample in the possession of Mr. Bankes [Mr. William Bankes, who was in Palestine at the same time with Irby and Mangles], has proved the supposition was unfounded, and that the tree is *Salvadora persica* of Linnæus, the *Embelia grossularia* of Retzius, and the *Cissus arborea* of Forskal." Don then quotes Roxburgh's description of *Salvadora* for the sake of comparison, and speaks of it as "found in Arabia, Syria, Persia, and India, between the parallels of 18° and 31° N. latitude." He goes on to say, "I am far from assuming this tree to be identical with the apocryphal Mustard Plant of the Sacred Scriptures: indeed, the whole passage in the Gospel by St. Matthew appears to militate against such an opinion, and it would appear that some common agricultural herb of large growth had been intended by our Saviour in the parable; but whether the plant belongs to the same family with *Sinapis* of Linnæus, and for what purposes it was cultivated, are questions rendered quite problematical at this distant date. We are pretty certain, however, that it cannot be a *Phytolacca*; for it does not appear that any real species of that genus has been observed in Palestine." He believes *Phytolacca Asiatica* of Linnæus, in the list of Hasselquist's plants, forming the 'Flora Palæstina' ('*Phytolacca foliis serratis*' of the first edition of the 'Species Plantarum'), to be probably intended for *Salvadora persica*, with which Linnæus does not appear to have been ever well acquainted.

'Lambert's "Note on the Mustard Plant of the Scriptures" is in Linnæan Transactions, vol. xvii. p. 449. He believes the plant to be literally *Sinapis nigra*; and relies for confirmation of this on the statement of Captains Irby and Mangles of the large size to which that plant sometimes attains in the Holy Land. The following is his reference to *Salvadora*: "What Mr. Frost says about *Phytolacca* he took from some conversation he heard in my library, not relating to the mustard-seed of Scripture, but to a plant mentioned by Captains Irby and Mangles, of which they brought me a specimen, and which proved to be *Salvadora persica*, found by them growing in a hot valley of the Holy Land."

Mr. Bennett also called my attention to Lady Calcott having in her work, entitled *Scripture Herbal*, referred to the above information obtained from Captains Irby and Mangles. This I had overlooked, from *Sinapis nigra*, or the common black mustard, being the plant selected for illustration by her ladyship.

It has therefore been ascertained beyond doubt that the *Salvadora persica* is found in Palestine, in the neighbourhood of the Dead Sea; and I think, considering the wide distribution of the plant, we may be allowed to conclude that the same plant is found on the shores of the Lake of Tiberias, and that it is there called *khardal*, or mustard. To some the evidence by which it has been concluded that this is the tree alluded to in the parable of the Mustard Tree may not appear satisfactory; and they may think,

as

as Mr. Lambert, that the common mustard plant is suitable to all that is required, especially as it is herbaceous as stated in the first part of the parable; has a small seed, and was probably cultivated in gardens. But this mustard-seed is far from being the smallest of seeds, for even in Syria we have trees, as the poplar and willow, with smaller seeds; but still, speaking generally, mustard-seed is small, as is also that of the *khardal*, or *Salvadora persica*, for anything that grows into a tree, and that the parable seems to me to require. Mr. Don, though not satisfied with this, is as little so with the common mustard; and fancies that some unknown agricultural plant of large growth was intended, but which it would now be difficult to discover. But to me there appears nothing improbable in the *Salvadora persica* itself having been so cultivated, and its herbaceous parts employed, as well as its seed, as a condiment. In fact, we might infer that it was so, for Rosenmüller mentions that a plant, which he supposes was the common mustard, was, at least by the later Hebrews, cultivated as a garden plant. This is evident from the fact, that in the Talmud (Massroth, cap. iv. § 6), its *buds* are mentioned amongst things which are subject to tithe. From this he infers that it was cultivated, because, according to the general rule established in the Talmud (Massroth, cap. i. § 1), everything eatable, and which is taken care of, cultivated, and nursed (in gardens, or in ploughed fields), and which has its growth from the earth, is subject to tithe. If we were to take the foregoing passage literally, it would of itself be sufficient to prove that the common mustard-plant was not that alluded to, because herbaceous plants are without regular buds; and they are moreover not grown to a great size at the season when birds build their nests.

We may briefly, therefore, sum up the result of our inquiries. Our Saviour in the parable adduces a plant having a small seed, which being sown, we may suppose in a suitable soil, grows up into a tree, or, as the Evangelist Luke says, a great tree, in the branches of which the fowls of the air take shelter or build their nests. This tree is mentioned in the New Testament by the Greek name *Sinapè*, or mustard, and we may infer that it was spoken of by the Hebrew or Syriac name of mustard, which, as in the Arabic, is *chardal*, or *khardal*.^{*} Whatever the plant may be, we are justified in concluding that it possessed the properties of mustard, from the same

^{*} Mr. Norris, Assistant Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society, has favoured me with the following note:—‘I have looked at the old Syriac version of the passages

where the mustard tree is named, and find the word ^٤ܚܪܕܐ *khardalo*. The same

is in the Chaldee. The modern Jews appear also to use the same word, for I find it in the Hebrew version of the New Testament.’

name being applied to it. The Arabs, we have seen, enumerate several kinds of *khardal* or mustard; that is, the common, the wild, and the Persian kinds; and it has been shown that the ancients were in the habit of grouping things together rather by their intrinsic properties than by their external characters.

Having learnt that the tree which in Palestine is at the present day recognized as the Mustard Tree of Scripture is there called *khardal*, I was led to conclude that this was *Salvadora persica* before even I could prove that this tree had ever been found in Syria. It is a curious and interesting fact, and one which we cannot consider accidental, that in so remote a country as the north-west of India, the name *khajal* should be applied to the same tree as *khardal* is in Syria. This proves the impossibility of collusion, or the recent application of the latter name to a plant of Palestine, merely to meet the exigencies of the case. This has been done in some cases by unscrupulous monks, who usually calculate on the credulity of their hearers being in proportion to their own ignorance. Subsequently I learnt that Captains Irby and Mangles had found a tree near the shores of the Dead Sea, which I concluded from their short description must be *Salvadora persica*. This I afterwards ascertained had already been determined by Messrs. Don and Lambert, from examination of specimens brought from the very locality by Mr. W. Bankes; and we find that it is a tree known both in Persia and Arabia, in India and Abyssinia, for its gratefully aromatic and pungent seeds, which we find employed at the present day in Syria for the ordinary purposes of mustard, and which we are therefore justified in concluding is the *chardal* tree alluded to by Talmudical writers.

In conclusion, it appears to me, that taking everything into consideration, *Salvadora persica* appears better calculated than any other tree that has yet been adduced to answer to everything that is required, especially if we take into account its name and the opinions held respecting it in Syria. We have in it a small seed, which, sown in cultivated ground, grows up and abounds in foliage. This being pungent, may, like the seeds, have been used as a condiment, as mustard and cress is with us. The nature of the plant, however, is to become arboreous, and thus it will form a large shrub, or a tree, twenty-five feet high, under which a horseman may stand, when the soil and climate are favourable. It produces numerous branches and leaves, among which birds may and do take shelter, as well as build their nests. It has a name in Syria which may be considered as traditional from the earliest times, and of which the Greek is a correct translation. Its seeds have the pungent taste, and are used for the same purposes, as mustard. And in a country where trees are not plentiful, that
is,

is, the shores of the Lake of Tiberias, this tree is said to abound, that is, in the very locality where the parable was spoken. If we consider, moreover, the wide distribution of this plant, from Damascus to Cape Comorin, and from the Persian Gulf to Senegambia, we still find that it is well suited to illustrate the typical comparison of the doctrines of the Gospel, which, though at first gaining only a few adherents, would in the end spread far and wide.

HEBREW IN THE TIME OF JEROME.

By the Rev. F. BOSWORTH, Montreal.

‘AFTER a diligent examination of the works of Jerome,’ says Delitzsch, ‘I am prepared confidently to affirm, that he has gathered with so much care and taste into the treasury of the Church whatever the Synagogue had to offer that was of high value, that, next to the Talmudical treatises, his writings are the best source whence to derive a knowledge of Jewish tradition.’ This is high praise, yet it is well deserved. Of all the Fathers Jerome renders the most important service to the student of Hebrew literature. He began the study of Hebrew in early life. ‘Hebræam linguam,’ says he, ‘quam ego ab adolescentiâ multo labore ac sudore ex parte didici’ (*Ep. ad Eust.*). He enjoyed the instructions of the most celebrated Jewish teachers of his age, who read the various books of the Hebrew Scriptures with him, and to whom he frequently refers in his writings. Nor was he content with this. In company with some learned Jews he traversed the land of Palestine. His purpose in so doing he thus describes: ‘Quomodo Græcorum historias magis intelligunt, qui Athenas viderint; ita sanctam scripturam lucidius intuebitur, qui Judæam oculis contemplatus est. Unde et nobis curæ fuit, cum eruditissimis Hebræorum hunc laborem subire, ut circumiremus provinciam, quam universæ Christi ecclesiæ sonant’ (*Præf. in Paral.*). So ardently did he pursue this study that the Hebrew Scriptures were his constant companion. ‘Nihil,’ he exclaims, ‘mihi profuit Hebræorum eruditio, et ab adolescentiâ usque ad hanc ætatem quotidiana in lege, prophetis, evangelisque meditatio’ (*Ep. ad Domn.*). He even lost in its pursuit the purity of his Latin style and pronunciation. ‘Nos, ut scis,’ he writes to Marcella, ‘Hebræorum lectione detenti, in Latinâ linguâ rubiginem obduximus, in tantum ut loquentibus quoque nobis stridor quidam

quidam non Latinus interstrepant. 'Obsecro te, lector, ut ignoscas celeri sermone dictanti; nec requiras eloquii venustatem, quam multo tempore Hebrææ linguæ studio perdidit' (*Com. in Agg. ii.*). 'Omnem sermonis elegantiam, et Latini eloquii venustatem, stridor lectionis Hebraicæ sordidavit' (*Pr. in Gal.*).

Favoured with such advantages as these, and knowing well how best to use them, the numerous references which Jerome makes to the Hebrew language are more than ordinarily valuable and trustworthy. Of these, it will be the design of the present paper to bring together the most important.*

I.—THE CHARACTER OF THE WRITING.

The Hebrew manuscripts in Jerome's time were written in the square character. This is evident from the following considerations:—

1. Jerome speaks of the so-called Samaritan character as being very different from that then in use. 'It is certain,' says he, 'that Ezra the scribe and doctor of the law, after the taking of Jerusalem and the rebuilding of the temple under Zerubbabel, introduced other letters, which we at present use, while up to that time the characters of the Samaritan and Hebrew were the same' (*Præf. in Reg.*). Again, he says, 'In the most ancient Hebrew letters, which the Samaritans use at present, the last letter *thau* has the form of a cross' (*Com. in Ez. ix. 4.*).

2. Such terms are used, when speaking of the letters individually, as would in no respect apply to any other Hebrew character than the square one. Thus Jerome says that the letters ' and ı are alike, differing only in size (*Quæst. in Gen.; Com. in Ez. vii.; Com. in Os. ix., x.; Com. in Hab. ii.; Com. in Zach. v.*). He speaks of ı and ı as having been confounded from their resemblance (*Com. in Am. vii.*). He notices, the similarity between 𐤒 and 𐤓, and mentions some who translated 'ducti elementi similitudine,' and refers to the possibility of mistaking 𐤒 for 𐤓, 'eo quod res et daleth parvo apice distinguuntur.' Jerome, indeed, frequently notices mistakes of this kind, viz., comp. Isa. viii., xxxviii., xxviii.; Ez. xx., xlvii.; Os. ii., ix. (twice); Am. i. (thrice); Soph. iii.; Zech. xi.; Eccles. viii. Finally, on the word *יָרָא*, Matt. v., he uses the following language: 'ex figura literæ ostenditur, quod etiamque minima putantur in lege,' and correctly translates the word *νεγαία* by the Latin apex, the very term which he uses when

* We regret not having been able to obtain a sight of Hupfeld's papers on this and kindred subjects, published in the *Stud. und Kritiken*, 1830.

speaking of the difference between 7 and 7 (see Lightf. *Op.* ii. 282; Tholuck and Olshausen, *in loco*).

The difference between the medial and final letters was known to Jerome. In his *Præf. in Lib. Reg.* he says, 'Moreover, there are five double letters among the Hebrews—*caph, mem, nun, phe, sade*; for they are written in one way at the beginning and middle of words, and in another at the end.' Others of the Fathers refer to the peculiarity of the final letters. Epiphanius says, 'διπλαῖνται πέντε παρ' αὐτοῖς στοιχεῖα' (*De Pond. et Mem.* c. 22). From the connection in which both these passages stand to the enumeration of the canonical books, 'unde et quinque a plerisque libri duplices æstimantur,' it is probable that these final forms were, even in Jerome's time, of somewhat long standing.^b

Jerome complains of the characters of his manuscripts as being small, and therefore injurious to the eyes. His language is, 'Accedit ad hanc dictandi difficultatem, quod caligantibus oculis senectute, et aliquid sustinentibus beati Isaac, ad nocturnum lumen nequaquam valeamus Hebræorum volumina relegere; qui etiam ad solis dieique fulgorem, literarum nobis parvitate cæcantur' (*Proem in Ez.* xxi.).

II.—THE UNPOINTED STATE OF THE TEXT.

In Jerome's time the Hebrew text was evidently without points. The language of this Father is of itself sufficient to establish the truth of this statement. He says, writing on Gen. xlvii. 33, 'much in Hebrew may be read different ways' (*Quæst. in Gen.*). Again, he tells us, 'for that word which we have rendered death, we have, in the Hebrew, three letters, *daleth, beth, res*, WITHOUT ANY VOWEL. If it is read *dabar*, it means a word; but if read *deber*, a pestilence' (*Com. in Hab.* iii. 5). In his *Com. in Jer.* ix. 22, he thus writes respecting the same word: 'Verbum Hebr. quod tribus literis scribitur דבר, *vocales enim in medio non habet*, pro consequentia et legentis arbitrio, si legatur *dabar*, sermonem significat, si *deber*, mortem, si *daber* loquere.' Speaking of the

^b [The square character belongs to a period anterior to the beginning of our era, and may be traced, through the Palmyrene, up to the Aramaic on Egyptian monuments, and so on to the common parent of all these alphabets, the Phœnician. Now, as the oldest Palmyrene inscription, which belongs to about the year 49 of our era, possesses the final *nun*; and as the Aramaic inscriptions already show two final letters *caph* and *nun* (*Gesen. Mon. Phæn.* p. 61); it may be fairly concluded that the development of final letters is to be ascribed to some influence which must have been common to the method of writing these characters. This influence also progressively increased. Hence, those characters which have been derived from this branch of the Phœnician trunk (such as the Estrangelo, Kufic, Peshito, and Nischi) have multiplied their final letters even far beyond the number of the Hebrew alphabet. Kopp considers it probable that the square character possessed final letters at the earliest period of its existence (*Bilder u. Schriften*, ii. 137).—EDITOR.]

word בבל, he says, 'vocales autem literæ, inter ב et ל, ל et ב, juxta idioma linguæ Hebrææ, in hoc nomine non ponuntur' (*Com. in Jerem. xxv.*).

Still more plainly does Jerome express the same idea when he tells us that 'the same words read with different sounds and accents, which depend on the will of the reader and the district of the country' (*Ep. ad Evang.*)—'Idem sermo,' he declares, 'et iisdem literis scriptus, diversas apud eos, et voces et intelligentias habeat' (*Ep. ad Dam.*). Speaking of the LXX, he says, 'quam LXX. verbi ambiguitate seducti, lapides transtulerunt; אבנים enim pro qualitate loci et diversitate pronunciationis, et organum, id est, rota figula, vocatur, et lapides' (*Com. in Jes. xviii.*). What Jerome means by 'pro qualitate loci,' is well illustrated by the following extract: 'Verbum enim Hebraicum, רוח, pro locorum qualitate, vel spiritus, vel anima, vel ventus accipitur' (*Com. in Ez. i.*). For the guidance which the connection afforded to the translators of the Septuagint, see Gesenius, *Gesch. der Heb. Sp.* § 48, &c. 'The context and tradition,' says that scholar, 'were their only guides.'

Besides these express statements, which might be greatly enlarged were it needed, many passages occur in Jerome's works, in which he makes an express difference between Hebrew words as written and as read. Some of these we quote: 'אשר aser, ergo non divitiæ, sed beatus dicitur, duntaxat in præsentī loco. Nam in aliis secundum ambiguitatem verbi possunt et divitiæ sic vocari' (*Quæst. in Gen. xxx. 13*). 'Licet enim eisdem literis et æstimatio scribatur et hordeum, tamen æstimationes searim leguntur, hordea vero seorim' (*Quæst. in Gen. xxvi. 12*). 'Verbum maim, quod per tres literas scribitur (מים), si legatur majim, aquas significat; si mijam, de mari intelligitur' (*Com. Hos. xi. 10*). 'Idem sermo et iisdem literis scriptus diversas apud eos et voces et intelligentias habet, e. g., pastores et amatores iisdem literis scribuntur, res, ain, jod, mem, sed pastores roim leguntur, amatores reim' (*Ep. 125*). 'Apud Hebræos, locusta et fumarium eisdem literis scribuntur (ארבה), quod si legatur arbe, locusta dicitur; si aruba, fumarium' (*Com. Hos. xiii. 3*). Similar remarks occur with the following words: אשה, *Quæst. Gen.*; אור, *Com. Isa. xxxi.*; זכר, xxvi.; ציון, xxv., xxxii.; במה, ii.; שבע, iv.; משרה, ix.; ערבים, xv.; נשף, xxi.; אנש, xvii.; אלי, xxi.; לבנה, xxiv.; שכור, xxviii.; שני, *Com. Ez. xv.*; בניך, xxvii.; צור, *Com. Hos. ix.*; פרים, xiv.; שם, *Com. Hab. iii.*; חרב, *Com. Soph. ii.*; ע, iii.; שבט, *Com. Zech. i.*; חנב, *Com. Eccles. xii.*; שקד, *Com. Jer. i.*

That

That Jerome's Hebrew text was unpointed appears furthermore from the fact that in many passages he differs from the Masoretic pointing. Thus he reads *מִשְׁכִּים* for *מִשְׁכִּים*, Jer. v. 8; *יִקְרָאוּ* for *יִקְרָאוּ*, Jer. xxiii. 6; *אֶל יִרְדּוּ* for *אֶל יִרְדּוּ*, Jer. li. 3; *בְּרִצִּי* for *בְּרִצִּי*, Ps. lxxviii. 31; *לֵאל* for *לֵאל*, Job. xxiv. 25; *אֲחֵרִי* for *אֲחֵרִי*, Prov. xxviii. 23; *קִבּוֹת* for *קִבּוֹת*, Am. v. 26; *עַל* for *עַל*, Hos. xi. 7; *תִּקְעוּ* for *תִּקְעוּ*, Ez. vii. 14; *מִים* for *מִים*, Nah. iii. 8, &c.

In opposition to all this, it may be said that Jerome frequently uses the term 'accentus' as determining the meaning of words which agree consonantly. The true force of this objection can only be seen by a comparison of the different passages in which this expression occurs. These passages we now cite: 'Pro voluntate lectorum, atque varietate regionum, eadem verba diversis sonis atque *accentibus* proferantur' (*Ep. ad Evag.*). 'Potest quippe *issa* (אִשָּׁה) secundum varietatem *accentus* et assumptio intelligi' (*Quæst. in Gen.*). 'Quod verbum (שְׁבוּעָה) multas habet intelligentias, et pro diversitate *accentuum* variatur' (*Com. Isa. lxxv.*). 'Si varietur *accentus* (שָׁקֵר) et nucem significat et vigilias' (*Com. Eccles. xii.*). *Bersabes* autem pro varietate *accentuum* vertitur in linguam nostram, puteus juramenti, aut puteus satietatis ac septimi' (*Com. Am. viii.*). 'Satis miror, cur ita translatum sit, cum in Hebræo nec literarum nec *accentuum*, nec verbi sit ulla communitas; tres enim dicitur שְׁלֹשׁ, et quadraginta אַרְבַּעִים' (*Com. in Jon. iii. 4*). From these passages it is evident that Jerome, in his use of the term in question, neither refers to the present Hebrew accents, nor to any vowel points. What he means to convey is this, that *traditional pronunciation* sufficiently distinguishes between words whose consonants are the same. That great importance was attached to this pronunciation, and much attention paid to it by the Jews in Jerome's time, is evident from the following language: 'Si forte erraverimus in *accentis*, et in extensione et brevitate syllabæ, vel brevía producentes, vel producta breviantes, solent Judæi irridere nos maxime in aspirationibus et quibusdam cum rasura gulæ proferendis' (*Com. ad Tit. iii.*).^c

Another objection to the statement just made, that Jerome's text was unpointed, may be advanced from the confidence with which that author appeals to the Hebrew in favour of his readings. He frequently expresses his surprise at the mistakes

^c On this subject see De Wette's *Archæologie*, p. 407; Jahn's *Int.* vii. § 97; Ges. *Gesch.* § 52.

into which the LXX. have fallen, and evidently regards a reference to the Hebrew as decisive, even when the difference may not have arisen from the consonants employed. Many have regarded Jerome's appeals 'to the Hebrew verity' as incontestably proving the existence of vowel points in this Father's MSS. But they do no such thing. 1. Because in some of the passages in which he finds fault with the LXX., and in which the distinction is made by himself between that which is *written* and that which is *read*, he as confidently appeals 'ad Hebraicam veritatem' (see *Com. Hos.* xiii.). 2. In passages in which he speaks of the *ambiguity* of some Hebrew words he is not the less confident—an ambiguity, let it be understood, arising in no respect from the consonants. 3. He often departs himself from our pointed text, as has been shown already. The confidence of Jerome arose from the high value he attached to the pronunciation and teaching of his Hebrew instructors. When he defends his translation from the Hebrew, he continually appeals to the learned among the Jews. In his *Præf. in Pent.* he says, 'Sicubi in translatione tibi videor errare, interroga Hebræos, diversarum urbium magistros consule.' So also in *Ep. ad Augustinum*, *Præf. in Lib. Reg.*, *Præf. in Paral.*, *Præf. in Esdras*, in *Ep. ad Sophonium*, he frequently refers to these teachers.^d Indeed, in one passage (Isa. xviii.) he plainly declares that he was taught by the Hebrews ('nos docti ab Hebrais') to read אֱנֹשׁ instead of אֲנֹשׁ. This passage is valuable, inasmuch as the difference between the two words consists not in their consonants.

Jerome knew no more of the present diacritic points than he did of the vowel signs. The distinction which at present exists between ש and שׁ he was not acquainted with. Hence he pronounces אֲשֶׁר *eser*, בְּרִשִׁים *berosim*, רֵאשִׁית *resith*, &c. He tells us, באר שבע pro varietate accentuum vertitur puteus juramenti (שְׁבַע), aut puteus satietatis (שָׁבַע), aut septem (שֶׁבַע) (Am. viii. 12). 'Verbum enim pro qualitate loci, et posuit intelligitur (שָׁם) et ibi (שָׁם)' (*Com. Hab.* iii.). 'Potest quippe issa (אִשָּׁה) secundum varietatem accentus et assumptio (אִשָּׁה)' (*Quæst. in*

^d Respecting one of these he says, 'Cum a me nuper literis flagitassetis, ut vobis Paralipomenon Latino sermone transferrem, de Tyberiadē quendam legis autorem, qui apud Hebræos admiratione habebatur, assumpsi, et contuli cum eo à vertice (ut aiunt) usque ad extremum unguem; et sic confirmatus, ausus sum facere quod jubebatis' (*Præf. in Lib. Paral. ad Dom. et Rogat.*). Of another he uses the following language, 'Est vir quidam, a quo ego plura didicisse gaudeo, et qui Hebræum sermonem ita eliminavit, ut inter scribas eorum Chaldæus existimetur' (*Ep.* 142).

Gen.). Compare Philo, ὁρῶν θεόν (יְשׁוּעָה) as if from יָשַׁר, and τεταγμένος θεῷ (שְׁמוּאֵל) as if from שָׁם. See also Josephus (*Ant.* i. 1), who pronounces אִשָּׁה *issa*, and the LXX., who read הִתְעַשְׂקוּ for הִתְעַשְׂקוּ (Gen. xxvi. 20).

On this account Jerome sometimes errs in translating. Thus, for instance, in Obad. 3. he has 'extulit te' (הִשְׁאִיחַ for הִשְׁאִיחַ). In this, however, he may have followed the Keri, since in ver. 7 he has translated הִשְׁאִיחַ 'illuserunt tibi.'

Jerome was certainly unacquainted with dagesh lene, as he makes no difference between the hard and soft sounds of the *begad-kephath* letters. Thus he pronounces תֹּב *tob*, תְּרֵדְמָה *thardema*, שִׁבְתַּיִם *sibathaim*, אֲבָרָם *Abram*, &c. He also expressly declares that the Hebrews had no *p*—that is, no dageshed פ. His language is, '*p literam sermo Hebraicus non habet*' (*Com. Is.* ii.). With the dageshed ת he had no acquaintance: '*Hucusque per t, simplicem literam legerimus. Verum quoniam, quæ sequuntur apud Hebræos, non ex thet, sed ex thau, id est, theta Græco scribuntur, cum aspiratione legere debemus*' (*De loc. Heb.*). In every situation the ד seems to have had the same sound in Jerome's pronunciation.

The doubling of letters by dagesh forte was likewise unknown to our author. For לַמְנַצֵּחַ, he reads *lamenazeah*; for בְּנֵיִם, *bagoim*; for אֲתָה, *atha*; for הַדְּבָרִים, *hadbarim*; and for רֵמֹן, *remon*. It must, however, be acknowledged that he often gives the pronunciation which our letters with dagesh-forte require, as, for instance, הַבָּא *habba*, תְּהִלִּים *tehillim*, לִשְׁדֵּי *lesaddi*, שְׁשָׁנִים *sosannim*, and רֶסֶה *ressa*. In all these instances, however, Jerome was evidently guided by the traditionary pronunciation of the Jews.

From two or three passages in Jerome's works it might, at first view, be supposed that his MSS. were furnished with some marks of interpunction, and some signs serving to disconnect words. The passages are these: '*Inter Hebraicum et Septuaginta diversa distinctio est. Septuaginta enim dinumerationem timori et furori Domini copulant. Porro Hebraicum sequenti aptat versiculo, ut sequatur: Ut numerentur dies nostri, sic ostende et veniemus corde sapienti*' (*Ep. Cyp.*). In speaking of the rendering of Amos iv. 13, as given by the LXX., he says, '*Enim si legamus*

legamus Christum suum, quod Hebraice dicitur **יְהוֹשֻׁעַ**, scribitur per has literas **י ה' ש ב**, quod Septuaginta putaverunt; sin autem **יהושע** ut in *Hebræo* est, juxta Aquilam τὴν ὁμιλίαν αὐτοῦ, juxta Symmachum τὸ φώνημα αὐτοῦ, juxta Theodotionem τὸν λόγον αὐτοῦ, juxta quintam editionem τὴν ἀδολοσχίαν αὐτοῦ, quæ omnia interpretantur, quod sit eloquium ejus, his literis scribitur, **יה**, quod dicitur **יה**, hoc est, quod vel quid. Deinde **י ה' ש** quod legimus **יהש**, id est, eloquium. O autem quod scribitur per solam literam **ב** αὐτοῦ, id est, ejus significat, simulque commixtum legitur **יהושע** à superiore verbo **יה** secundam literam plus habens' (*Com. Am. iv.*). 'Cur autem pro eo quod nos interpretati sumus, sic pauperes, illi dixerunt Chananæos, causa manifesta est, apud *Hebræos enim sic ב* dicitur, **עני** *pauperes*; illi duo verba in unum copulantes, pro eo quod est, sic pauperes, *h. e.* **עני ב** nomen **כנעני**, id est, Chananææ gentis interpretati sunt' (*Com. Zech. xi.*).^o

The first of these passages will be explained when we come to speak on divisions of the text. The **יה** of the second (**יה**), together with the pronunciation, would sufficiently guide Jerome in his interpretation. The final *nun* of the third (**עני ב**) and the *yodh* would sufficiently indicate the true meaning of the passage.

The extraordinary points, or at least some of them, appear to have occurred in Jerome's time. On Gen. xix. 33 he says, 'Appungunt desuper, quasi incredibile et quod rerum natura non capiat, coire quempiam nescientem' (*Quæst. in Gen.*).

III.—THE POWER OF THE LETTERS.

The *begad-kephath* letters, as we have already said, had with Jerome but one pronunciation. The sibilants are thus described by him: 'Nam nos et Græci unam tantum literam *s* habemus, illi vero tres, *samech*, *sade*, *sin*, quæ diversas sonas possident. Isaac et Sion per *sade* scribuntur; Israel per *sin*, et tamen non sonat hoc quod scribitur; Sion Rex Amorrhæorum per *samech* literam et pronunciatur et scribitur' (*Com. ad Tit. iii.*). The difference between the **ש** and the other sibilants is thus stated: '*sade* quam nostræ aures penitus reformidant'—'Est enim stridulus et strictis dentibus vix linguæ impressione profertur' (*Com. Isa. xi.*). 'Nec *s* nec *z* literam sonat.' The difference between the mute dentals is described by saying that the '*thet*' is to be read by the simple *t*, the '*thau*' 'aspiratione addita.' The

^o We wish it to be understood that in all our quotations we use the edition of Jerome's works printed at Frankfort, 1684.

latter is, according to Jerome, represented by the Greek θ,¹ an opinion which, although sustained by Gesenius (*Lehrg. der Hebr. Sp.* pp. 17, 22), is strenuously opposed by Ewald.

The letters ה ו י ם are by Jerome termed vowels. Thus he says, speaking of the word בעל, 'inter ב et ל literas consonantes, ו vocalis litera ponitur' (*Com. Hos.* ii.). 'Apud Hebræos non habeat (ו) in principiis literam consonantem, verum incipiat a vocali ain' (*De Nom. Heb.*). In the Greek inscriptions of Punic words ו is hardly ever represented consonantly (Gesen. *Mon. Ph.*; *Fürst's Conc.*). The LXX. often represent the ו by γ; Josephus much less frequently; the Punic-Greek hardly ever; Jerome never.² It should be remarked that the Aramaic pronunciation of this letter was always soft (see Hoff. *Syr. Gr.* p. 79). The Galileans pronounced ו like ם (Buxt. *Ch. L. voc.* גליל; Lightf. *Op.* ii. 232).

Jerome tells us that for Hosianna, Hosanna should be read: 'media vocali elisa' (*Ep.* 145). 'Vav litera,' says he, 'apud illos per o legitur' (*Quæst. in Gen.*). 'Idioma linguæ illius est, per ה quidem scribere, sed per a legere.' (*Ib.*)

It should, however, be remarked that Jerome at the same time frequently calls these Hebrew characters letters. Thus, for instance, ם, *Com. Isa.* 17, *De Duab. quad. Mans.*; ה, *Ep. Fab., Quæst. in Gen.*; ו, *Com. Isa.* 15, 38, *Hos.* 2; י, *Com. Isa.* 27, 29, 38, *Ep. Marc.*; ו, *Com. Isa.* 17, *De Duab. quad. Mans.* The meaning of this expression he defines more exactly by styling these letters more than once 'vocales literæ.' He evidently did not regard these characters as *matres lectionis*, so much as quiescents, whose consonantal power when such was absorbed in their accompanying vowel sounds. This is evident, 1. Since ה and ו are termed vowels just as much as are י ו ם, the later *matres lectionis*. 2. Because these characters are styled vowels as well at the beginning and end of words as in the middle, a position the *matres lectionis* could not as such assume. 3. Since Jerome, although he styles these letters vowels, distinguishes between their power in several instances in a way he could not do were they mere *matres lectionis*. Thus he says, 'Ubi à vocali litera nomen incipit, apud Hebræos à diversis inchoatur elementis' (*De Nom. Heb.*). With respect to ה and ו, he especially says that their pronunciation cannot be expressed in Greek,

¹ So Josephus. Wishing to prove that תרשׁיש was the Cilician Tarsus, he accounts for the change from θ to τ thus, τὸ ταῦ πρὸς τὴν κλησιν ἀντὶ τοῦ θῆτα μεταβαλλόντων (*Ant.* i. vi. 1). So also the LXX. almost always.

² Except in names taken from the Septuagint, as Gai (Γαι).

'quia duplici aspiratione' (*Com. Tit.* iii.). Again, he says of ה 'a literam sæpe per he pronunciatur' (*Quæst. in Gen.*).

This view is sustained by the latest researches of philologists into the cognate tongues. Thus Gesenius asserts that the use of the *matres lectionis* 'is contrary to all the analogy of old Shemitish writing.' 'The oldest Phœnician inscriptions and coins,' he tells us, 'are uncommonly sparing of these letters' (*Gesen. Gesch.* § 49; *Lehrq. der Heb. Sp.* p. 51). The Egyptian-Aramaic, as deciphered by Beer, exhibits no traces of such letters, nor do the Carpentoractensian and Palmyrene inscriptions. Onkelos, in the Greek words which he adopts, uses them not (*Winer, De Onk.* p. 10). Even though in the Peschito and the writings of Ephraim Syrus these *matres lectionis* are frequently inserted in foreign words, they have in many instances gradually disappeared when such have been adopted into the language. Thus מם is found throughout the New Testament for מם. The Greek θρονός is found written מםל and מםל, and σχῆμα מם and מם, &c. (see Credner, *De Proph. Min. Vers. Syr.* pp. 60, 61).

The strong guttural ח is represented by Jerome as differing from כ. Speaking of the former, he says, 'profertur duplici aspiratione' (*De Nom. Heb.*). He evidently regarded it as nearly approaching the Greek aspirate, since he almost invariably gives it the power of the Latin *h*. Thus in the end of words he writes it with *h*, viz. לָמְנָזֶה *lamenazeah*, לָרֹוּחַ *laruah*. Comp. Theodotion's λαμνασσα, Ps. viii. 1, and λαρουῆ, Gen. iii. 8, and the New Test. ἀφφαθα (אַתְּפֹתָח). In the middle of words the same thing occurs, לֶחֶם *lehem*, חֲמֻשִׁים *hamusim*, לַחֲסִידֶיךָ *laha-sidecho*, &c. In some few instances Jerome gives the medial ח the power of *ch*, but these, so far as I can discover, are confined to proper names, and are doubtless to be attributed to the influence of the LXX., and of a pronunciation of such names not yet entirely lost. The *ancient* names of places are the last to surrender themselves to the subsequent modifications of language. Jerome more than once speaks of the LXX. as putting χ for ח. At the beginning of words Jerome expresses the ח as usual—חַטָּאת *hatath*, חַסִּידָה *hasida*.

IV.—THE PRONUNCIATION OF HEBREW.

Jerome has fortunately given in his various works the pronunciation of many Hebrew sentences and words. These we proceed to give:—

Gen.

Gen. xiv. 18, 19, 20.—לֶחֶם כֶּחָן וְהוּא כֶּחָן וְהוּא כֶּחָן וְהוּא כֶּחָן
עָלִיוֹן וַיְבָרְכֵהוּ וַיֹּאמֶר בָּרוּךְ אַבְרָם לֶחֶם עָלִיוֹן כֶּחָן שָׂמִים וְאַרְצָן וַיְבָרְכֵהוּ אֶל עָלִיוֹן
אַשְׁמִגֹּן צָרִיד בִּירָד וַיִּתְּנוּ לוֹ מִעֵשֶׂר מִכָּל:

Umalchizedec melech Salim hozi lehem vajain vehu chohen leel elion
vajebarchehu vajomer baruch Abram leel elion kone samaim vaarez
ubaruch el elion escher migen zarecha bijadecha vajitten lo maeser
michol (*Ep. ad Evang.*).

Exod. xiii. 18.—וַחֲמִשִּׁים עָלָיו בְּגִי יִשְׂרָאֵל מֵאֲדָן מִצְרַיִם

Vahamusim alu bene Israel meerez Mizraim.

Gen. iv. 15.—וַיֹּאמֶר לוֹ יְהוָה לָכֵן בְּלֹהֶרֶן מִן שִׁבְעָתַיִם יָקָם

Vajomer lo Adonai lachen col horeg Cain sibathaim jucam.

Ps. lxi. 15.—עַם-קִטְרוֹת אֵילִים

Im katoroth elim (*Hieron. ad Suniam et Fritelam.*).

Ps. lxxiv. 8.—שָׂרְפוּ כֶל-מוֹעֲדֵי אֵל בְּאַרְצָן

Sarphu chol moade el baarez (*Ib.*).

Ps. xlv. 15.—תְּשִׁימוּנוּ מוֹסֵל בְּגוֹיִם

Tesimenu mosel bagoim (*Ep. ad Sun. et Frit.*).

Ps. xc. 2.—מַעוֹלָם יַעֲדֵעוּלָם אֲתָה אֵל

Meolam vead alam atha el (*Ib.*).

Ps. cxxxv. 3.—הַלְלוּיָהּ בְּרִטוֹב יְהוָה נִמְרָה

Halleluja, chi tob sambra (*Ep. Marc.*).

Ps. xlv. —לִמְנָצָה עַל-שִׁשְׁנָיִם לְבָנֵי-קֶרַח מִשְׁבִּיל שִׁיר יִידוּת

Lamenazeah al sosannim libne Corah maschil sir jedidoth (*Ep. ad Prin. Virg.*).

Ps. cxviii. 26.—אֲנָה יְהוָה חוֹשֵׁעָה אֲנָה יְהוָה הַצְלִיחָה נָא בָרוּךְ הָבָא בְּשֵׁם יְהוָה

Anna adonai osianna, anna adonai hazelihanna: baruch habba basem
adonai (*Ep. Dan.*).

Gen. xlix. 21.—וְבָרַכְתָּ אֶת-אֵילָה שְׁלֹחָה, Aiala seluha (*Quaest. Gen. xv. 2.*)

Uben mesek bethi (*Ib.*). אֵלָה הַדְּבָרִים, Elle hadbarim. רֵמֹן פָּרִיץ, remon phares.

וְשׁוֹפְתִים, sophthim. קַהֲלָתָה, caaltha, &c., &c.^b

^b [There is considerable discrepancy, in the midst of great general agreement, between these specimens of Jerome's pronunciation, as given in the edition of Tribbechorius (Frankfort, 1684, fol.), and in the latest and best edition by Vallarsi (Venice, 1762, 11 vols. 4to.). There are also two reasons against laying too much stress on any such accordance of Jerome with the Masoretic punctuation. One is, because the manuscript copies of his works must, during the dark ages, have been repeatedly transcribed by persons so utterly ignorant of Hebrew, that it would have been next to a miracle if his original spelling of such uncouth and unknown words had been faithfully preserved. The other is, that both Martiany and Vallarsi accuse the editors who preceded them, with wilfully tampering with the readings of such words, as found in the MSS., in order to make Jerome conform to the Masoretic punctuation: a charge which—to instance only a small thing—may be proved by so simple a test as their making him use *z* and *sh* to express *y* and *sh*, when yet it is certain that the use of *z* for that letter is a violation of his own rule and practice, and that they intend the *sh* to exhibit a sound which the Latin language did not possess, and which, if it did, it could not have been directed by that combination.—EDITOR.]

The remarkable agreement between Jerome's pronunciation and that of the Masorites will be readily apparent. This we proceed more fully to describe, wishing it to be understood at the same time that no vowels or diacritic points were found in Jerome's MSS.

The helping-vowel with final gutturals, known by us as Pattachfurtive, is often given in Jerome's pronunciation, viz., לַמְנַזֵּחַ *la-manazeah*, Ps. xlv.; לָרוּחַ *laruah*, Gen. Gesenius (*Lehr. der Heb. Sp.* p. 79) says that Jerome expressed this vowel by *e*, but in this he is manifestly wrong.¹ The pronunciation of ו with shurek, either before vocal shevas or labials, is often met with—וּבֵן *uben*, וּרְחַב *urchab*, וּבָרֻךְ *ubaruch*, וּמֶלְחָמָה *umelhama*. The strengthening of the monosyllabic form by giving to the preposition in composition a long vowel is also found. Thus לָעַד *la'ed*, Ps. lx. 9, is pronounced *laad*; לָכֵן *lachen*. The diphthongal form of the plural noun with the suffix of the first person is clearly expressed לִפְנֵי *lephanai*, מֵעַי *meai*. This is evidently an earlier mode of pronunciation than that at present in use (Roed. *Ges. Heb. Gr.* p. 21). The peculiar pointing of the vav commutative is constantly found—וַיִּקְרָא *vajikra*, וַיִּדְבֵּר *vajedabber*, וַיֹּמַר *vajomer*, וַיַּבְרַחְהוּ *vajebarchehu*. Even the pointing וַיִּסְפְּרֵי is followed, *visapheru*.

Nay, further, Jerome often corrects the Septuagint in accordance with our printed text. For the Sept. rendering on Isa. xxiv. 23, πλίνθον (לִבְנֵה), our author reads לִבְנֵה; Isa. xxv. 5, ἐν Σιών (צִיּוֹן), צִיּוֹן; Isa. lvi. 11, πονηροὶ (רָעִים), רָעִים; Jer. xvii. 9, 16, ἀνθρώπος (אָנֶשׁ), אָנֶשׁ; Ez. xv. 4, ἐνιαιτὸν (שָׁנִי), שָׁנִי; Ez. xxvii. 4, υἱοὶ (בְּנֵי), בְּנֵי; Hos. xi. 10, τέκνα ὑδάτων (מֵיִם), מֵיִם; Hos. xiii. 3, ὥσπερ ἀκριδῶν in some MSS, see Grabe's *Readings* (אֲרֵבָה), אֲרֵבָה; Hag. iii. 5, λόγος (דְּבַר), דְּבַר; Hag. i. 11, ῥομφαίαν (חֶרֶב), חֶרֶב; Gen. xv. 11, συνεκάθισεν αὐτοῖς (וַיֵּשֶׁב אֹתָם), וַיֵּשֶׁב אֹתָם. Nor are these corrections confined to the Septuagint. They extend to the other Greek versions. Thus he finds fault with Aquila for reading אָנֶשׁ instead of אָנֶשׁ, Isa. xvii. 11; נָשִׁים for נָשִׁים, Isa. iii. 12; שָׁם for שָׁם, Hab. iii. : with Theodotion

¹ Jerome, in a few proper names, expresses the furtive pattach by *e*, evidently through the influence of the Septuagint.

for having שׁ instead of שׂ, and with Symmachus for the same reason. Many other passages might be quoted, but these may suffice for our purpose.

Now in every one of these instances, in which pronunciation and the context were the only guides, the *corrections made exactly correspond with our pointed text.*

The difference between Jerome's pronunciation and that of the Masorites must now engage our attention. In many instances he gives to the pronominal suffix of the second person masculine, and to the paragogic ה the sound of *cho* and *o*, viz., לַחֲסִידֶךָ *laha-sidecho*, אָתָּה *ato*, צוֹרֶרֶךָ *zorerecho*, הֶחָלֶעֶךָ *hechalecho*, הֶלִיכוֹתֶךָ *helicotheco*, מִלְאֲכוֹתֶיךָ *melachotheco*. Every one of the examples given above is found in the Epistle *Ad Suniam et Fritelam*. I find an additional instance, כַּפֶּיךָ *caphecho*, in the *Ep. ad Marcellam*, and nowhere else.* Jerome generally gives the *a* sound in such cases. How are we to account for this departure from his general mode of pronunciation? What renders the difficulty the greater is the circumstance that in the Epistle above mentioned (*Ad Sun. et Frit.*) the *a* sound is given four times.

Without giving too much weight to the opinion of Gesenius (*Lehr. der Heb. Sp.* p. 39), that the inhabitants of Tiberias pronounced the *kametz* like *o*, it is very evident from the Syriac that such a pronunciation did exist in very early times. Even supposing that Tholuck and Hupfeld are right in not extending the rudiments of the Syriac diacritical signs beyond the sixth century—and we are not disposed to call in question the correctness of this statement—the practice in question must have existed ages before it was sufficiently general to remove all traces of the *a* sound. It is worthy of remark that, while the Western Syrians pronounced their emphatic state with the *o* sound, those in the East gave it the *a* sound. Thus the נִרָא of the west was pronounced *nura* by the Nestorians and other Eastern Syrians, and is so now (see Perkins' *Residence in Persia*, p. 11), a proof by the way of the permanence of the Chaldaic pronunciation. The pronunciation of *kametz* by *o* was common among some of the Jews themselves (see Gesen. *Lehr. der Heb. Sp.* p. 38, and *Heb. Gr.* Eng. edit. p. 20). It appears also occasionally in the LXX., Σολυμα שׁלם, Ιωανη יפּוּ.

Bearing this in mind, the explanation of the difficulty now

* In every one of these instances the edition of Vallarsi omits the final *o*, and, in conformity with the mode in which it generally expresses the suffix of the second person singular, writes *laasidach*, &c.

before us becomes easy. Jerome had several teachers. No less than four are mentioned by him in his works. One of these was a Jew of Lydda, another an inhabitant of Tiberias. Now it is very probable that from one of these teachers he learned to sound the kametz as *o*, though the influence of other instructors and of habit had not been entirely removed. This conjecture is the more probable since the pronunciation in question was only used by Jerome during one period of his life.^m

Another departure from the Masoretic pointing which Jerome's writings exhibit is found in the pronunciation given to the sheva in order to assimilate it to the vowel following. Thus נְפִילִים *niphilim*, רֹהֲבוֹת *rohoboth*, לָמָנָזֶאחַ *lamanazeah*, צָפָנֶת *zaphanath*. The LXX. has precisely the same pronunciation, viz., Σοδόμ, Σαβαώθ, Ζαχαρίας, &c. So also the New Testament, λαμα (לָמָא), δάμα (דָּמָא), σαβαχθαυ (שְׁבַחְתָּא), γαββαθα (גַּבְתָּא); and so also Josephus, σαβαώθ (צַבְאוֹת), σαββατα (שַׁבְתָּא). This, however, seems to have been a common Palestinian pronunciation, first allowed with the אֶחָדֶּה letters, and then with the other consonants. Thus, Simson Naqdan says, speaking of the words רָאָה, צָא, 'the aleph being with shurek, the sheva also is pronounced with shurek.' He speaks also of the sheva in שְׁמֵנִים, שְׁמֵרִים, as being pronounced like pattach (see Delitzschi *Jesurun*, pp. 92, 248). According to Hupfeld, the Ethiopic and Arabic express the movable sheva by the short vowels *a* or *o* (*Exc. Eth.* p. 10). So also the Phœnician (Roediger's *Ges.* p. 26, note †).

Jerome often pronounces the initial sheva like *a*, as קָטֹרֶת *katoreth*, בָּשֵׁם *basem*, לָרֹחַ *laruah*. The initial yodh with sheva is sounded like *i*, as יְהוּדָה *juda*, יְעָרִים *iarim*, יְשִׁימוֹת *isimoth*, a pronunciation by the way often found in the LXX. (יִדְתָּא, Ἰδοὺ; יְרוּאָשׁ, Ἰωὰς). This appears to have been the ancient mode.¹ Solomon Ben Melech, on Micah v. 6, thus speaks, 'The rule is, that when sheva is under yodh, it is pronounced in no respect dissimilar to the vowel *i*.' See Hupfeld's *Eth. Ex.* p. 15, for similar instances in the Ethiopic; and Mich. *Lumina Syr.* § viii. for such in the Syriac; also Gesen. *Thes.* p. 557.

This fluctuation in the pronunciation of the sheva agrees with

^m This pronunciation may, however, have been that of the Christian Aramæans of Palestine, or of one of the idioms referred to by Jerome in the extract given page 1.

what the Jewish grammarians advance respecting it. According to them it was styled עֶבֶר עֲבָרִים, 'because it accommodated itself to all the vowels.' Aben Ezra derives the name sheva from שֶׁוּא, 'because it agrees in pronunciation with all the vowels.' The prince of Jewish grammarians, R. Jehudah Chiyug, plainly declares that the sheva was formerly pronounced in various ways. A similar diversity in the pronunciation of the sheva occurs in Syriac. 'Sonus vero,' says Hoffmann, 'quo scheva mobile pronuntiatur, fluctuat inter omnes vocalium sonos.' So also Schultens, *Inst. Ar.* p. 214, *Lud. de Dieu, Præf. in Ap.*, and *Harm. Gram.* pp. 42, 43; Gesen. *Lehr. der Heb. Sp.* p. 73, and *Heb. Gr. Eng. edit.* p. 26).

Our silent sheva was sometimes sounded by Jerome: צִדְקִי *zidiki*, הַמֵּינִן *hamejanin*, הַיֶּשָׁר *hajeschar*. This, however, is extremely rare.

When the initial *yodh* has *chirik*, Jerome sinks the consonantal sound in that of the accompanying vowel, as יִלָּה *ilave*, יִזְבֵּלֵנִי *izbeleni*, יִזְרַחֲהָ *isracha*. So also the Septuagint (יִנְאֵל, 'Iyāl; יִצְחָק, 'Isaà; יִשְׁשַׁכָּר, 'Issaxàç). Precisely similar is the Ethiopic (Hupf. *Ex. Æth.*) and the Syriac (Mich. *Lum. Syr.* § 8, Hoff. *Syr. Gr.*).

A general survey of the subject of Hebrew pronunciation in the time of Jerome may, in this part of our sketch, appropriately occupy our attention. 1. It is evident that the prevalence of the Aramaic element had considerably modified the old pronunciation of the Hebrew. The gutturals had become much softened, though to Jerome's ears they always sounded harshly.^a Scarcely any difference was made between them. With the exception of the ה they are treated as vowels. Of the whole of them he says, 'Non statim ubicumque ex a litera, quæ apud Hebræos dicitur *aleph*, ponuntur nomina, existimandum est ipsam solam esse, quæ ponitur. Nam interdum ex *ain*, sæpe ex *he*, nonnunquam ex *heth* literis, quæ aspirationes suas vocesque commutant, habet exordium' (*De Nom. Heb.*). A reference to the Gemara shows that not only the Galileans (*Lightf. Op.* ii. 232) and the Samaritans (*Gesen. Lehr. der Heb. Sp.* p. 128; *Ewald, Krit. Gr.* § 30. 3; Hoff. *Syr. Gr.* p. 123), but also the inhabitants of Palestine proper had at this time confounded the gutturals by softening

^a 'When but a youth,' says Jerome, 'after reading Quintilian and Tully, and the best of the rhetoricians, I shut myself up to the mill of this language; and after long time, and much ado, I scarcely began to pronounce these panting and creaking words.' In this language our author may have chiefly referred to the Hebrew sibilants.

their pronunciation. We come to the same conclusion by referring to the works of Origen,^o and the translations of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion. Aquila,^p a Jewish proselyte and probably a pupil of Rabbi Akiba, continually expresses the ׀ by the Greek aspirate. This permutation of the gutturals, arising from their very similar pronunciation, so frequent in the Aramaic dialects (*On Zabian d.* see Hoffmann, *Syr. Gr.* p. 123),^q had not become so common when the Septuagint was translated. That version almost constantly expresses the ׀ by χ, and often gives the consonantal power of ψ, a letter which appears to have been one of the first of the gutturals to lose its pronunciation. While Judea remained intact, a sufficiently powerful influence would be exerted by the literary portion of the community to prevent, at least in some degree, the inroad of Aramaism. This is the reason why the Rabbins were so fond of holding up to scorn the indistinct guttural pronunciation of the Galileans and Samaritans. When this barrier, however, was removed, a rapid change took place in the language. The formation of the Masora and the other *protective* labours of the scholars of Tiberias, &c., significantly prove this. The style, too, of the Masora, Mishna, &c., shows the earnest desire of the Rabbins to copy as nearly as possible the Biblical Hebrew, and thus perpetuate their language and pronunciation.

Not only did the gutturals suffer from foreign influence, the sibilants also experienced a change, though this is apparent only in the letter ש. The ancient pronunciation of this letter was doubtless *sh*. With Jerome, however, it was nearly allied to ס. In the Gemara abundant evidence is found to prove that the Palestinians did not sufficiently distinguish between the two letters (see Hupfeld's remarks, *Eth. Ex.* p. 5; Delitzsch, *Jesurun*, p. 92). We need not wonder that so little change appears in the sibilants. They are the firmest of letters. During the time of the LXX. the pronunciation of the ש appears to have been more clearly defined. See the words פִּשְׁטָן (שׁוּן), חֶשֶׁן (שׁוּן), *Threni*.

2. The fluctuations of *vocal* pronunciation had in a great degree subsided. The pronunciation of the LXX. was very irregular. The vowel sounds differed very considerably from those of the Masorites. The sheva readily received all the vowel sounds.

^o עֵר *elr*; חַיָּא *aiā*; וְעַף *ouep*; אֵל *al*; יְחִי *ieie* (*Hexapla. Gen.* i. 20; *Hab.* ii. 4).

^p Aquila's version was in high repute among the Jews: φιλοτιμότερον πεπιστευμένους παρὰ Ἰουδαίους ἡρμηνευμέναι τὴν γραφήν. Origen. 'Aquila . . . quem interpretem Judei ceteris anteponunt' (*August. De Civ. D.* xv. 23).

^q A similar degeneracy of the gutturals is observable in Ethiopic (*Hupf. Eth. Ex.* p. 5), and in the Punic (*Gesen. Lehr. der Heb. Sp.* pp. 16, 20).

This may in part have been owing to Alexandrian pronunciation, but by no means altogether. The other Greek translators differ almost as much as the LXX. from the Masoretic pronunciation. Josephus, as might be expected, speaking, as he doubtless did, the best Hebrew of his day, agrees much better with our points. Jerome, however, comes the nearest to them, and no wonder, he was living among the Masorites themselves. When a nation exists in a state of independence different dialects may be allowed. The influence of the metropolis and the learned class will always be felt sufficiently to sustain, at least for a time, the pure pronunciation of the language.* But when nationality is destroyed, and the language threatened with total extinction, *system* must be resorted to in order to ensure it even a precarious existence. This is the reason why the Masoretic pointing and accentuation, before preserved in the pronunciation of the higher and more learned classes, was reduced to *systematic arrangement* for the use of all. Now Jerome's Hebrew was the Hebrew of these classes. Origen, Eusebius, Epiphanius, and others might know something about Hebrew, as they undoubtedly did, but they had not enjoyed the advantages of Jerome. They had not been trained up under the eye of careful and well-instructed teachers. Those Jerome had were the most learned of their nation. No wonder, then, that his pronunciation agrees so generally with the Masoretic text. It never can be too frequently remembered that in the pointing of our Hebrew text we have not only the purest pronunciation of the nation of the Jews, but the traditionary meaning which the most intelligent of that nation gave to the sacred volume.

V.—THE DIVISIONS OF THE TEXT.

Jerome frequently uses language which seems to indicate the existence of the divisions of the Jews. In his *Com. on Mich.* vi. 9, he thus writes: 'In Hebraico alterius hoc *capituli* exordium est, apud LXX. vero interpretes finis superioris.' So on Gen. he says, referring to ch. xxv. 13, etc. 'quod autem in extremo hujus *capituli* juxta LXX. legimus.' On Zeph. iii. 14, we find the following: 'Non videtur mirum, ut sæpe diximus, aliter Hebraica *capitula*, et aliter LXX. Græca videlicet Latinaque finiri.' In his *Com. on Jer.* ix. 22, he writes, 'Unde et LXX. et Theodotio junxerunt illud præterito *capitulo*.' 'Multa et varia apud Hebræos,' says he on Gen. xxxvi., 'de hoc *capitulo* disputantur.' To these very many other passages might be added in

* Comp. Matt. xxvi. 73. The pronunciation of Hebrew words as given in the New Testament, &c.

which the word *cap.* occurs, viz., *Quest. in Gen.* iv. 15, xv. 16, xlviii. 5; *Com. Osee*, iv.; *Com. Isa.* lxiii., &c.

These passages might at first sight sustain the views of some that Jerome here speaks of the פְּרָשִׁיּוֹת of the Jews, as is the opinion of De Wette,* or at least of the סְדְרִים, as is that of Jahn. That this, however, is not correct, a careful examination of Jerome's writings incontestably proves. Immediately after the extract given above from the *Com. on Zeph.* Jerome goes on to say, 'Ubi enim in sensu diversa translatio est, ibi necesse est diversa esse vel principia vel finis.' So, too, the passage cited from Jeremiah is followed by the following words: 'ut disperderent parvulos de foris, juvenes de plateis morte.' The fault which Jerome finds with the LXX. and Theodotion in this passage is that they have connected the word דְּבַר, which they read דְּבַר, with the preceding verse. He speaks of 'capitula' in the beginning of Nahum i. He also styles Hab. ii. 18, Gen. iv. 15, Gen. xv. 16, Jer. xxiii. 9, &c., 'capitula.' In some instances parts of verses are designated by the same word. In very many instances the term occurs when it cannot refer to any Hebrew division. It is, therefore, evident that Jerome uses the word 'capitulum' synonymously with 'locus,' which he also frequently employs. It is, therefore, the same in sense with our 'place,' 'passage,' &c. In Tertullian and the Codex Just. this word often means 'section.'

That there was some metrical division in the Poetic books in Jerome's time seems evident. Thus in his Epistle to *Sun. et Frit.* he says, '*Grando et carbonis ignis. Et quæritis, cur Græcus istum versiculum secundo non habeat interpositis duobus versibus.*' He also speaks in his Præf. to Job in the following terms: 'Cæterum apud Latinos ante eam translationem, quam sub astericis et obelis nuper edidimus, septingenti fermè, aut octingenti *versus* desunt.' He accordingly often uses the terms 'versus' and 'versiculus' (see *Com. Hab.* iii. etc.). It may be remarked that the oldest MSS. are still divided into στίχοι in the poetical books (*De Wette's Int.* i. 302).

Jerome speaks of similar divisions in the Prophetic and Historic books, called by himself *cola et commata*. This was, as he plainly declares, an innovation of his own (see *Præf. in Jes.*, *Præf. in Ezek.*, *Præf. in Paral.*, *Præf. in Josh.*) Of these divisions the cola were the longer. They occur not in the historic books.

* [De Wette revoked this in the fifth edition of his *Einleitung* (1840), p. 115, and adopted, from Hupfeld, the opinion that capitulum is only locus.—EDITOR.]

The number of Canonical books is described by Jerome as being 22. This enumeration evidently arises from a desire to have the amount similar to the number of letters in the Hebrew alphabet. 'Thus,' says our author, 'as there are twenty-two letters, so twenty-two volumes are reckoned.' Origen makes the same remark. Indeed, it appears to have been the opinion generally entertained at the time. Jerome connects the Book of Ruth with Judges, and the Lamentations with Jeremiah. He speaks of others who enrol Ruth and the Lamentations among the Hagiographa. The threefold Jewish division of the Hebrew Scriptures into the Law, Prophets, and Writings, was well known to Jerome.

In his *Præf. in Esdras et Neemiam*, Jerome asserts that 'apud Hebræos Esdræ Neemiæque sermones in unum volumen coarctantur.' Of Daniel he writes, 'Non haberi Danielelem apud Hebræos inter Prophetas, sed inter eos, qui hagiographa conscripserunt.'

Respecting the divisions of the Psalms his language is, 'Aiunt Hebræi uno psalmorum volumine quinque libros contineri; à primo usque ad quadragesimum, et à quadragesimo primo usque ad septuagesimum primum, et à septuagesimo secundo usque ad octogesimum octavum, et ab octogesimo nono, qui quarti libri initium est, et quem nunc disserimus, usque ad centesimum quintum. In quorum omnium fine duplex Amen positum est . . . à centesimo sexto ad finem' (*Ep. ad Cyp.*). With reference to the first and second Psalms he says, 'Apud Hebræos et primus et secundus unus est Psalmus, quod in Apostolorum quoque Actibus probatur' (Comp. Acts xiii. 33, in Griesbach). Our author reckoned the Chronicles one book (*Præf. in Lib. Paral.*), and shows that the books of Samuel were called 'Regnorum libros' (*Ep. ad Pau.*).

Jerome gives the following as the order of the Minor Prophets among the Jews: 'Hebræi autem post Osee, qui apud utrosque primus est, secundum legunt Joel, tertium Amos, quartum Abdiam, quintum Jonam, sextum Micheam, septimum Nahum, octavum Abacuc, nonum Sophoniam, decimum Aggeum, undecimum Zachariam, duodecimum et qui ultimus est Malachiam' (*Proem. in Joel.*). He also says that the Jews regard them all as one book. His canon contains all the present canonical books, and no more. He expressly excludes the apocryphal writings, 'Apocrypha nescit ecclesia' is his language, though he designates some of them 'valuable and edifying works' (*Præf. in Job., Præf. in Jud.*).

VI.—THE STATE OF JEROME'S TEXT.

A remarkable agreement exists between the MSS. used by Jerome and our Hebrew text. The reason is evident. He obtained the best MSS., and read them over with the most skilful Hebraists.¹ 'In the fourth century,' says De Wette, Jerome employed Palestinian instructors and manuscripts. It is on this account that his version, so far as it respects explanations and readings, agrees so well with the present received text of the Jews' (*Introd.* § 88).

Some few differences, however, appear. Sometimes Jerome follows the present Keri. Thus, for יְשִׁמּוֹת he reads יְשִׁי מָוֶת, Ps. lv. 16; for הוֹשֶׁר, הוֹשֶׁר, Ps. v. 9;² for תִּקְרָא, תִּקְרָא, Jer. iii. 19; for וְלֹא, וְלֹא, Ps. c. 3. At other times the Chethiv, לֹא הִגְדַּל instead of לֹא הִ' Isa. ix. 2; לֹא יֵאָסֶף for לֹא יֵ' Isa. xlix. 5; בְּהִלְכֶתֶם for בְּהִלְכֶתֶם, Nah. ii. 6.

Sometimes the readings are different from either Keri or Chethiv. See וְאֵת בְּנֵיכֶם, Jer. ii. 9; לֹא תִירָא, Soph. iii. 15; תִּבְנֶה, Ps. lxxxiv. 7; עֵד, Ps. xcv. 10; כְּבוֹס, Ps. cii. 7; בְּהִרְרִי, Ps. cx. iii.; אֲסִיר, Ps. lxxxix. 34; וְהִכַּל יִדְּהָ שִׁקּוֹץ, Dan. ix. 27; צֶדֶק (for אֶרֶץ), Prov. viii. 16. These differences, it will readily be seen, are of but little consequence. Some of them doubtless occurred from a similarity of letters, others from an unwillingness to alter too greatly the generally received translations of the Seventy, as Jerome himself affirms. In every instance, however, MSS. have been found to sustain these readings.

It has often been supposed that the Jews have falsified the Hebrew text. This charge seems to have been urged against them by Jerome in his *Com. in Gal.* iii. 10. Referring to the word כָּל (Deut xxvii. 26), he says, 'Frustra igitur illud tulerunt Judæi.' But in his *Com. in Jes.* ch. vi., he explicitly rebuts it. His language is, 'Quod si aliquis dixerit, Hebræos libros postea a Judæis esse falsatos, audiat Origenem, quid in octavo volumine explanationum Esaïæ huic respondeat quæstiunculæ: quod nun-

¹ Jerome's literary zeal is seen in the following extract: 'Subito Hebræus intervenit, deferens non pauca volumina, quæ de synagoga quasi lecturus acceperat. Et illico, habes, inquit, quod postulaveras, meque dubium et quid facerem nescientem ita festinus exterruit, ut omnibus prætermisiss ad scribendum transvolarem, quod quidem usque in præsens facio' (*Ep.* 125, *ad Dam.*).

² [Both these readings only produce one and the same sense, as they both are legitimate imperatives of Hiphil, although the latter follows the more usual analogy. See Ewald's *Hebr. Gram.* § 253.—EDITOR.]

quam

quam Dominus et apostoli, qui cætera crimina arguunt in scribis et Phariseis, de hoc crimine, quod erat maximum, reticuisissent. Sin autem dixerint post adventum Domini Salvatoris et prædicationem apostolorum libros Hebræos fuisse falsatos, cachinnum tenere non potero, ut Salvator et evangelistæ et apostoli ita testimonia protulerint, ut Judæi postea falsaturi erant.

VII.—PREVALENCE OF RABBINIC CONCEITS.

Many of the puerilities so prevalent in later times among the Rabbins are found in Jerome's works. See the nonsense about the wonderful meaning of the letters in the *Proem. in Lamentat. Hierem., Ep. ad Paulam*, and *Prol. Galeat.* 'Pessima,' Jerome tells us, 'Hebraice *nimrezeth* dicitur, quod quinque literis enunciat, id est *nun, mem, res, zade, thau*. In *nun*, *noeph*, id est, *adulta*; *mem*, *moabisa*; *res*, *rasa*, i. e. *impius*; *sade*, *zara*, i. e. *leprosus*; *thau*, *thoaba*, id est, *abominatur*' (*Quæst. in Tert. Lib. Reg.*). The cabbalistic mode of writing termed *אמרא* was known to Jerome: 'Apud Hebræos primum est *aleph*, secundum *beth*, tertium *gimel*, usque ad vigesimam secundam et extremam literam *thau*, cui penultima *sin*. Legimus itaque *בש, את, ב*. Cumque venerimus ad medium *ל*, occurrit *כ*' (*Com. Hierem. cap. xxv.*).

VIII.—COGNATE DIALECTS.

Jerome more than once notices the close connection between the Hebrew and Punic languages. His words are: 'Lingua Punica quæ de Hebræorum fontibus manare dicitur' (*Com. in Jes. vii.*). 'Pœni quorum lingua linguæ Hebrææ magna ex parte confinis est' (*Com. Jer. xxv.*). 'Nonnulli putant aquas calidas, juxta Punicæ linguæ viciniam, quæ Hebrææ contermina est, hoc vocabulo signari' (*Quæst. in Gen.*). Augustine, Jerome's friend, a more competent judge in some respects on this subject, often makes the same remark. See *Ep. ad Rom., Quæst. in Jud. vi. 16, Tract. xv. in Joan.*

He was acquainted with the Pentateuch of the Samaritans, and refers to their peculiar written character. 'Samaritani,' says he, 'etiam Pentateuchum Moysi totidem literis scriptitant, figuris tantum et apicibus discrepantes' (*Præf. in Reg.*). 'Samaritanorum Hebræa volumina relegens inveni *ל* scriptum esse (*Deut. xxvii. 26*), et cum *LXX.* interpretibus concordare' (*Com. in Gal. iii. 10*). 'Siquidem et in Hebræis et Samaritanorum libris, ita scriptum reperi' (*Quæst. in Gen.*). From these passages it is evident that Jerome speaks of the Samaritan Pentateuch, not of the

the Samaritan version of the same work. Other quotations, referring to the character employed, we have already quoted, page 284. Jerome's general accuracy in affirming the agreement between the old Hebrew and the Samaritan letters is very evident from a cursory inspection of the two alphabets, and is sustained by the latest scholars (see De Wette's *Introd.* § 86; Ewald, *Heb. Gr.* § 137; Roed. *Ges.* § v. 2; De Wette, *Lehr. der Heb.-Jud. Arch.* § 278, and p. 399).

Our author supplies us with some valuable information respecting the later Palestinian dialect. This he calls most generally Syriac (*Præf. in Job.*, *Adv. Ruf.* lib. ii., *Ep. ad Eust.*, *Ep. li. Ep. August.*, *Ep. Marcell.*, *Catal. Scrip. Ecc. v. Bardesanes et Efræm.*), and sometimes Syro-Chaldaic (*Cont. Pelag.* iii. 1). When not speaking with precision, he styles the same language Hebrew (*Com. Matt.* xii. 13), and perhaps Chaldee (*Præf. in Job.*). It should be observed that other writers use precisely the same terms in reference to the same idioms. In the New Testament and Josephus it is called Hebrew (Ἑβραϊς, Ἑβραϊστὶ). Philo speaks of it under the name of Chaldee and Syriac. Theodoret and Cyrill style it Syriac also. Epiphanius, while he speaks of the same dialect as being Hebrew, calls it also Syriac, and distinguishes between the ancient Hebrew and the latter tongue. By the Talmudic writers it is spoken of by the appellations Hebrew (Lightfoot's *Works*, ii. 619), Syriac and Aramaic (Winer, *Real-Wort.* ii. 649; Winer, *Chaldee Gr.* § 1). In fact, the general identity between the languages of Mesopotamia and Syria in the first centuries may perhaps be regarded as a settled point. Strabo refers to this identity. Modern authors declare it.*

The alphabet of this dialect differed, according to Jerome, from the Hebrew. On this subject he says, 'In Evangelio juxta Hebræos, quod Chaldaico quidem Syroque sermone, sed Hebraicis literis scriptum' (*Adv. Pelag.* iii.). 'Sciendum quippe est, Daniele maxime et Esdram Hebraicis quidem literis, sed Chaldæo sermone conscriptos' (*Præf. in Dan.*). In this last extract Jerome appears to us, by the expression 'Chaldæo sermone,' to have implied the existence of the Aramaic alphabet in question. This alphabet was, without doubt, the ancient Syriac, of which remains, even as far back as Jerome's time, are now extant. Jerome thus refers to three different characters, the old Hebrew, the square character, and the Syriac. There is a passage in the Mishna (*Yadaim*, § 5), which seems to present the same threefold alphabet. Mention is there made of Hebrew cha-

* Hoffmann's *Gram. Syr.* p. 5; Winer, *De Onk.* p. 8; Pfannkuche says, 'Aramaic and Syriac are completely equivalent.'

racters, Assyrian characters (square), and Targum characters (probably Syriac).

It is very evident that Jerome knew nothing of our present Syriac vowel points. The sacred writings of nations possessing vowel-less alphabets are always likely to be the first furnished with points, especially when the language is decaying. If, then, the Hebrew of Jerome's time was destitute of these, we cannot expect the current Aramaic of Palestine either required or provided such helps.

We cannot, however, refrain from thinking that the pronunciation which lay at the foundation of the present Syriac vowel system was gradually forcing its way, at least in some districts; that the *a* sound of the inland countries was becoming changed into the terminal *o* sound. We say in some districts, for while Jerome sometimes uses this terminal sound (see p. 295), he, in one place at least, gives to the Syriac the *a* sound. His language is, 'Maranatha magis Syrum est quam Hebraicum, tametsi ex confinio utrarumque linguarum aliquid et Hebræum sonet, et interpretetur—Dominus noster venit' (*Ep. Marc.*).

Besides numerous incidental references, Jerome more than once directly speaks of the Aramaic of his time. Referring to one of the apocryphal gospels, he says, 'Quo utuntur usque hodie Nazareni' (*Adv. Pelag.* iii.). In his life of Hilarion he writes, 'Videres de ore barbaro, et qui Francam tantum et Latinam linguam noverat, Syra ad purum verba resonari, ut non stridor, non aspiratio, non idioma aliquod Palæstini deesset eloquii.' Jerome also describes those whom he calls Saracens as using the same language. 'Gregatim,' he writes, 'ei cum uxoribus et liberis obviam processere, submittentes colla, et voce Syra Barach, id est benedic, inclamantes' (*Vita Hil.*). He thus also speaks of a Palestinian dialect: 'Inter Egyptiam et Hebræam media est et Hebræa magna ex parte confinis' (*Com. Es.* xix. 18). Numerous references to this tongue, as it was in use during the fourth and fifth centuries, are found in the writings of the Fathers. Theodoret says, 'The Osroeni, Syrians, the inhabitants about the Euphrates, and in Palestine, and the Phœnicians, use the Syriac tongue' (*Quæst. in Jud.* xxx.). Origen also tells us that the Idumeans, having lost their name and language, were called Arabs, and spoke Syriac. Cyrill affirms that in his time the Phœnicians and inhabitants of Palestine spoke the same dialect.

Of this tongue there appear to have been several idioms differing but slightly from each other, since Jerome tells us that 'the same words read with different sounds and accents, which depend upon the will of the reader and the *district of the country*' (*Ep. ad Evang.*). Whether the Jews had at this time a style and mode

mode of pronunciation peculiar to themselves, we have perhaps no means of ascertaining. Of one thing, however, we are certain, that the dialect in use by them in the fourth and fifth centuries differed somewhat considerably from that used in the first and second: at least, the language of the Mishna (about the middle of the second century) differs greatly from that of the Jerusalem Talmud, written also at Tiberias, not later, says Zunz, than the first half of the fourth century, and from the style of the Jerusalem Targum on the Pentateuch.

It would seem from some expressions which Jerome uses that he recognized a difference between the Arabic and other Semitic tongues. His language, when speaking of the book of Job, is, 'Hæc autem translatio nullum de veteribus sequitur Interpretum, sed ex ipso Hebraico Arabicoque sermone, et interdum Syro, nunc verba, nunc sensus, nunc simul utrumque resonabit' (*Præf. in Job.*). 'Job quoque cum Arabica lingua plurimum habere societatem' (*Præf. in Dan.* See Delitzsch, *Jes.* p. 66; Hengstenberg on *Job* in *Kitto's Cyclopædia*).

STATE OF HEBREW LEARNING IN PALESTINE IN THE TIME OF JEROME.

After the sanguinary conquest of Palestine by Hadrian, which had almost depopulated the country,¹ Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius, and Severus, were required to exert their power in quelling serious insurrections among the Jews. Even as late as the twenty-fifth year of Constantine's reign 'the Jews in Palestine rebelled, and killed many of other nations, both Greeks and Samaritans, but they were extirpated by the Roman army' (Theophanes, p. 33; Socrates, *Hist.* xi. 31). Peace had now, however, been enjoyed for some length of time. Hence the academies of Lydda and Tiberias were in a more flourishing state when Jerome resided in Palestine than had been the case for many years' (Delitzsch, *Jes.* p. 7; *Carp. Crit. S.* vi. § 2). Great activity prevailed in these seats of Jewish history at this time. The Jews even endeavoured to become somewhat thoroughly acquainted with the Gospels, which they had translated into Hebrew,² doubtless for the purpose of controversy. The voluminous work of the Jerusalem Talmud was then compiled.

¹ Justin Martyr says to Trypho, καὶ προσέτι ἡ γῆ ὅμῶν ἡρεμώθη, καὶ ὡς δευροφυλάκιον καταλείπεται (*Dial.* c. 52). Jerome writes, 'Terram Judæe penitus fuerit depredatus' (*Com. Is.* vi.).

² Epiphanius speaks of the Gospel of John and the Acts of the Apostles as having been translated into Hebrew, and as having been kept—εν τοις των Ιουδαων γαροφυλακιοις . . . εν τη Τιβεριαδι (*H.* 30).

Great care was paid to the correctness of the manuscripts, and to the proper pronunciation of the Hebrew (see p. 6). The labours were now commencing which resulted in the present system of vowels and accents, and in the Masora.*

Between the Jews, however, and their fellow-subjects little intercourse subsisted, religious hate being as strong as ever. Hence their literary labours were in a great measure confined to themselves. In Jerome's time imprecations against the Christians were repeated three times a day in the synagogues (*Com in Jes.* v. 18; *xlix.* 7; *xii.* 5; *Com. in Amos*, i. 11). All discussion on religious subjects with Christians was expressly forbidden (*Justin, Dial. c. Tryph.* c. 38, 112), although the reiteration of this command shows that it was not always obeyed. From the influence of these circumstances Jerome found great difficulty in obtaining the instruction he required. 'Quo labore,' says he, 'quo prætio, Baraninam nocturnum habui præceptorem! Timebat enim Judæos, et mihi alterum exhibebat Nicodemum' (*Ep. ad Pam.*). 'Memini me ob intelligentiam hujus voluminis Lyddæum quondam præceptorem, qui apud Hebræos primus haberi putabatur, non parvis redemisse nummis' (*Præf. in Job.*). Nor was this all; Jerome was greatly taken to task by his Christian brethren for learning Hebrew from Jews (*Adv. Ruf.* i. *Ruf. Adv. Hieron.*).

These difficulties were not, however, insurmountable. Good teachers could be obtained for money. Some, indeed, of the Jewish Rabbins seemed to be above the narrow prejudices of their brethren. Thus Origen became intimately acquainted with the patriarch Jullus. In refuting the objections of his brethren, Jerome says, 'Ipse Origenes, et Clemens, et Eusebius, atque alii complures, quando de Scripturis aliqua disputant, et volunt approbare quod dicunt, sic solent scribere: Referebat mihi Hebræus; et audiivi ab Hebræo; et Hebræorum ista sententia est' (*Adv. Ruf.*).

The good example thus set by Origen, and especially by Jerome, was soon followed. A taste for oriental learning was excited. Paula and her daughter were somewhat proficient in Hebrew. 'Hebræam linguam,' says Jerome, 'discere voluit, et consecuta est, ita ut Psalmos Hebraice caneret, et sermonem absque ulla Latina linguæ proprietate personaret. Quod quidem usque hodie in sancta filia Eustochio cernimus' (*Ep. ad Eust.*).

* It is interesting to find that the support now rendered to Palestine Jews by their brethren in other parts was rendered in Jerome's time: 'Apud Hebræos,' says he, 'ut qui in lege Domini meditantur die ac nocte, et partem non habent in terra, nisi solum Deum, synagogarum et totius orbis foveantur ministeriis' (*Jer. adv. Vigil.*).

At the funeral of the good lady Paula psalms were sung by attendant monks and nuns in Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and Syriac.

Besides the Jews and their pupils, there were in Palestine numerous sects of Jewish Christians as zealously attached to the study of the Hebrew Bible, and as well versed in traditionary lore as the Hebrews themselves. The Nazareans living, according to Epiphanius, in Beroea, in Syria, in Coelo-Syria, Decapolis, and Basanitis, were most attentive readers of the Hebrew Scriptures.^b Such was the case also with the Ebionites of Nabathea, Paneas, Moabitia, and Cocabe. Even the Gnostic Jewish sects appear to have cultivated Hebrew learning with much success. The number of these Christianized Jews was very great. Among them various apocryphal writings were in circulation. Thus we read of the book called the Jubilees, the Parva Genesis (twice mentioned by Jerome, *Ep. ad Fab. de Mans.* 18, 24, evidently as written in Hebrew, since he refers to the word יִדְרָן as found there), and the Hebrew Gospel of the Nazarenes, translated by Jerome. Besides these, the Wisdom of Solomon, Jesus son of Sirach, Judith, Tobit, Shepherd of Hermas, First Book of Maccabees, were in circulation in Palestine at this time, all written in Aramean.

In addition to these works, many of the Greek apocryphal writings then in use, viz., The Test. of XII. Patriarchs, the Sibylline Oracles, the Fourth Book of Ezra, are extremely Aramean in style and Jewish in doctrine.

In all these writings the strong influence of Hebrew and Rabbinical study is plainly discernible.

^b Epiphanius says of the Nazarenes, Ἑβραϊκὴν δὲ διάλεκτον ἀκριβῶς εἰσὶν ἡσκημένοι παρ' αὐτοῖς πᾶς ὁ νόμος, καὶ οἱ προφῆται, καὶ τὰ γραφεῖα λεγόμενα—Ἑβραϊκῶς ἀναγιγνώσκεται ὥστερ ἀμέλει καὶ παρὰ Ἰουδαίοις.

ON CUSTOMS ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE BIBLE.

No. I.

By the Rev. D. G. WAIT, D.C.L., Rector of Blagdon, Somerset.

THE most ancient manner of perpetuating events in the very early times was by indenting the records of them in stone. In Yemen several specimens, which have been averred to relate to the Hamyarites, have been found; but every interpretation of them that has been offered is doubtful. Ibn Mokri has recorded that this mode of perpetuating events was customary among the Arabs of Yemen; and there is a proverb in Meidáni which corroborates his statement. The arrow-headed inscriptions in Persia and Babylonia are sufficient to prove the extensive prevalence of the practice, which is confirmed by inscriptions of another class, which India and Egypt supply. The *Tarikhi Sung* at Mazenderán, and the Rosetta Stone, were national records. The Tables of the Law, which consisted of the Decalogue engraven on stone, whilst they afford an evidence that this style was designed for endurance, yield in the context an intimation that another style was known also in the days of Moses. Without bestowing an implicit credit on the statement of Eupolemus, that Moses first invented alphabetic characters, we may safely aver, from Exod. xxxii. 32, 33, that the art of writing on other substances had been at that time discovered. For it would have been impossible that מִצָּה, especially if the word had then the full sense * which the Kamus and Sihah attribute to its Arabic counterpart, could have been applied to any engraving on stone; nor could it have been so applied if the idea of an entire perforation, suggested by Michaelis, be correct. The North American Indians and other barbarous people were accustomed to commemorate, as well on bark as on rocks, the histories of men and events in hieroglyphics; and the use of the papyrus was doubtless known in Egypt in a very remote antiquity; if it were known to Moses, might it not have been the material of the סֵפֶר mentioned in these passages?

With the inscribed pillars assigned to Seth, or the boundaries attributed to Joseph, or the characters on Mount Horeb, we are not concerned; for the books of Genesis, Job, and Joshua present authorities sufficient for our inquiry. Hence, in proportion to the

* The Arabic root implies the obliteration of every trace of a thing.

increase of idolatry was the veneration attached to particular stones which were supposed to be inhabited by a Deity: the λίθοι ἐμψύχοι, the Hindù Salagrama, and the residences of the Duergar were such; and among the ancient inhabitants of Denmark and Norway the runic characters engraven on rocks in historical remembrance of the martial deeds of Odin and other barbarians contributed not a little to that veneration. Whether we advert to the spirits of rocks and mines, to the Bætulia, to the marks of Divine feet, to pyramids, to obelisks, to gigantic temples of stone, to cairns and cromlechs, to caves or excavations, such as those at Nakshi-rustam, at Dendera, Elephantine, and Salsette, to the stupendous monuments and temples in Upper Egypt and Abyssinia, to all that Masúdi has recorded on this branch of superstition, or to all that the Druidical religion will present to us, we shall find an ample justification of every denunciation in the Bible against the worship of stocks and stones.

The unction of stones, which was permitted to the patriarchs, soon became abused; the Hebrews themselves applied it to idolatry. They poured their libations, and they presented their meat-offerings to them, and slew children, as victims, in the clefts of the rocks. Images of stone were not only anointed, but were crowned with garlands, and exalted to the rank of tutelary divinities; so writes Tibullus (i. 1. 11):—

‘Nam veneror, seu stipes habet desertus in agris,
Seu vetus in trivio florea sarta lapis.’

And Clemens Alexandrinus, in the seventh book of his *Stromata*, strongly alludes to this idolatry, with which also osculation was connected, as we know it to have been with that (Job xxxi. 27; 1 Kings xix. 18; Hosea xiii. 2) which is recorded in the Scriptures.

The earliest habitations of mankind were in the excavations of rocks and mountains, whether natural or artificial; from whence those places became the dormitories of the dead. Palestine and Persia abound with them. And, where persons were otherwise buried, it was the custom among some nations for their friends and passengers to throw stones by way of remembrance on their graves; but among the Hebrews and Arabs stones piled over graves were tokens of ignominy. Thus upon Achan, upon the king of Ai, and upon Absalom was a heap of stones piled; thus, also, when the people had transgressed the law by eating the cattle of the Philistines with the blood, Saul exclaimed, ‘Roll a great stone unto me this day!’ Hence likewise arose the proverb to roll away reproach.

Several particulars in the interments at Machpelah bear a singular

gular correspondence to some of the funereal descriptions in the Sháh-námeh; the lamentations are strikingly coincident. The sepulchral cavities in rocks have furnished the Scriptures with many phrases: the pit and the nether parts of the earth, and each corpse lying in its own house, or in the separate dormitories of their recesses, are among the vivid descriptions of the Hebrew poets. A comparison of the 15th verse of the 14th chapter of Isaiah with the 18th verse, of the **אִישׁ בְּבֵיתוֹ** with **יִרְכַּת-בּוֹר** will suggest to us that there were separate cells at the sides of those sepulchres, which suggestion is fully established by Ezek. xxxii. 23. This is also supported by that ancient style of sepulchre which the

Arabs call **لَعْد**, which had holes in its sides for the reception of bodies. Such probably was the burial-place at Machpelah. Not merely these, however, but the summits of mountains and valleys were chosen to receive the dead.

To be deprived of sepulture was a great disgrace in the opinion of almost every nation. It was a disgrace in proportion to the desire of being buried with ancestors. In the history of Jehoram we observe that the denial of a burial with ancestors was an ignominy merely inferior to the want of the rite; for although he was interred in the city of David he was not permitted to repose in the tombs of the kings. Such was likewise the case with Joash and with Ahaz; but on Jehoiakim the fullest ignominy of an unburied state was denounced. To cast the dead body of a person of rank into the graves of the common people (Jer. xxvi. 23), or as that of Jehoram was cast on the portion of Naboth the Jezreelite; to expose it to the sun by day, and to the cold by night, to the birds and to the beasts, to consign it to putrefaction in the open air, was a disgrace that could not be effaced. We observe precisely the same sentiments among the heroes of the *Iliad* and *Æneid*; and the same were in force among the Egyptians. Some, however, have imagined that the Hebrews burnt the bodies of some of the dead. Those of Saul and his sons, which the men of Jabesh burnt, are cited as examples; and those of Asa and of Zedekiah are adduced in corroboration of them. But with respect to the first, the reason obviously lay in the state in which they were when they were recovered; and with respect to the others, it by no means appears from the text that anything but aromata was burned at their interment. In the instance of Asa this fact is expressly declared; and in the case of Jehoram it is stated that there was no burning for him, *like the burnings of his fathers*. What they were is explained by Jeremiah concerning Zedekiah, where the words **שָׂרֵפָה** are a direct evidence that not the *body*

but that something else was burned. The allusion could only have been to aromatic substances. And although Amos vi. 10 has been quoted in support of the contrary assertion, the authority of other passages confirms the opinion of those who have interpreted the *תִּמְיָמָת* *incensor thymiamatum*; however, some, arguing from the sense of the root in Samaritan, might have styled him the *pollinator*. Bion, in his Epitaph of Adonis, mentions the practice; and Virgil writes,—

‘Aversi tenuere facem :—congesta cremantur
Thurea dona, dapes, fuso crateres olivo.’

Tibullus yields a similar evidence,

‘Non soror, Assyrios cineri quæ dedat odores,
Et fleat effusis ante sepulchra comis.’

When, therefore, we arrive at a proof from the history of Christ's death, that it was equally a Jewish custom, we can have but little hesitation in determining such to have been the force of those passages, and less in maintaining that it was not usual for the Jews to burn their dead.

We observe, likewise, that it was customary among many people to close the eyes of the deceased, which probably was the meaning of the promise to Jacob, that Joseph should put his hand upon his eyes; and to wash and lay out the body in an *ὕπερνον* was a practice that was not confined to any particular nation. Rending the garments, adopting mourning attire, the sackcloth and ashes of the Hebrews, and eating the bread of mourning, may be detected far and wide. Nor are parallels wanting to the cup of consolation. We may also trace among many savage people, remotely situated from each other, a great part of the idolatrous superstitions which the Scriptures have shown to have been attendant on funerals; the cutting or plucking of the hair and the lacerations of the body were the most general. Jeremiah's words, ‘Weep ye not for the dead, neither bemoan him; but weep sore for him that goeth away;’ and those of Solomon, ‘The day of death is better than the day of man's birth,’ recal to our minds the similar sentiments of the ancient Thracians and Scythians, which Strabo has recorded, and the custom of that people in Mississippi, whom the Chevalier de Tonti has mentioned to have wept at births and to have rejoiced at funerals.

Both the classical writers and the Persian poets have assigned two gates to Hades, at one of which the person enters, and at the other of which he departs. The gates of Death, and the gates of the Grave, and the path of Life are correspondent Biblical expressions; to which Daphilus, quoted by Clemens Alexandrinus, *Strom.* v., exhibits a near analogy as to the prevalent notion.

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Καὶ γὰρ καθ' Ἀθην δύο τρίβους νομιζομεν
μίαν δικαίων, ἑτέραν δὲ ἀσεβῶν εἶναι
ὁδόν.

Sheòl, or Hades having been described as the nether parts of the earth, and in the classics as τὰ κατώτερα τῆς γῆς, the metaphors of the pit and the snare have been applied to it. In the Hecuba of Euripides it is styled

γᾶς ὑποπεμπομένος σκοτός·

just as darkness and the shadow of death are joined together in Job, and as the Psalmist identified the lowest pit with darkness and with the deeps.

The comparison of human life to a weaver's thread was in itself so natural, that the general adoption of it is easily explicable. Job pronounced his days swifter than a weaver's shuttle, and Hezekiah in his prayer assimilated the cutting off of his life to a weaver cutting off his thread ; so in Arabshah's life of Taimur we read,—

فخيطة العيش موصول بقطع
وحيل العمر معقود بموت

‘ Verily, the thread of life is joined to that which cuts it ; and the texture of existence is knitted together with death.’ In Ecclesiastes, likewise, life is compared to a silver cord, which must be loosed ; and in the 18th Psalm the cords of Hades (תְּבִילֵי שְׁאוֹל) are introduced. From such prevalent ideas doubtless arose the fable of the Parcae with their threads.

The pompæ, the tædæ, funalia or cereæ faces were common to the Hebrews and others ; and the rabbinical writers have asserted that it was customary to burn the beds and utensils of the deceased over their graves. The Arabs indeed were wont to deposit with their friends gold and precious stones, which some without sufficient grounds have imagined to have been the allusion in Job iii. 14, 15. The oracular nature which antiquity attributed to a dying person's words perhaps arose from the solemn act of blessing which was used in the patriarchal ages.

Among the Hindús we often find close resemblances to Hebrew ideas and expressions ; but among the Gabrs, or ancient Parsis, they are more striking. The latter believed that death came into the world as the consequence of the first man's sin ; and that according to the nature of the actions good or evil spirits take the possession of the human soul after death. In pronouncing the return of the body to its elements, earth to earth, air to air, water to water, and fire to fire at its obsequies, they exhibited traces of that ancient style of philosophic speculation which we may remark

among

among the Greeks. Far more elevated are the words of Solomon : ' Then shall the dust return to the earth, as it was, and the spirit shall return to God who gave it.' The Scriptures mention a book in which human actions are inscribed ; whence the Talmudists have assigned the recording office to Metatron. The Pagan Arabs imagined the planet Mercury to be the heavenly scribe, and depicted him with a *kalm* in his hand, and paper on his knee. Hence, as the Hebrews acknowledged God to be the future Judge, which doctrine we may retrace to the days of Abraham (Gen. xviii. 25), so we observe the same belief among others of the ancient world. Thus, in the system of the Zend-avesta, Ormuzd is the Great Judge of all, who, accompanied by Bahman, will pass the final sentences ; after which the Izeds will bear the souls of the acquitted over the Bridge Chinavad into the Land of Joy, where they will await a happy resurrection ; but the wicked by evil spirits will be hurried to a place of punishment. At the resurrection the just will associate with the just, but the unjust with each other. The legend of Minos, Rhadamanthus, and Æacus, and the Hindú mythology in this respect, if we take from it the more gross and complicated parts, contain a similar creed. Hammer indeed was of the opinion that **آخرון**, which was the name given by the Pagan Arabs to the constellation Eridanus, was the origin of Acheron, as *the last* of rivers, to which we may add that **אחרון**, in its application to God as THE LAST, and in its use in Job xix. 25, supports the idea of its Eastern derivation.

The Patagonians, who admit the existence of good and evil spirits, believe that the dead live with God, Soychù, the Invisible, far beyond the world, being themselves equally invisible. From the picture of desolation which the Jews and Orientals drew respecting Sheöl or Hades, dreary valleys and wild defiles were compared to the Shadow of Death ; in Persia the name is frequent. A spot in Turkey, near Ash-kelaa, which is infested by scorpions, is styled **شیطان دره سی**, Satan's Valley ; and David's allusion in the 23rd Psalm was probably to the Ghôr, which separated Judah from Edom. The savages of Paraguay imagined the souls of men and emus to inhabit subterranean tents—clearly the *καταχθονία* of the Greeks. Among others in correspondence with the Scriptures, the abode after death was considered as a pit or cavern with several recesses, in which (as we have observed) each lies, as it were, in his own house (Isa. xiv. 18), or rests on his own bed (lvii. 2) ; and from some such ideas perhaps catacombs originated. As it has been shown that caves were the earliest cemeteries of the human race, it might be expected that such a custom

custom would have given its metaphors to language ; and hence it will appear that the deification of heroes and the oblations given to ancestors contributed to that cave-worship which is known to have existed. The idolatrous sculptures with which art furnished them would naturally in process of time have connected with them the solar worship, and all that belonged to the Pantheon of the people.

St. Paul perhaps alluded to some notion of his day in his words, δι' ἐσόπτρον, ὥσπερ ἐν αἰνίγματι ; but *that* we can scarcely refer to what is contained in the rabbinical writings ; for the word in them being merely the Latin *speculum*, a modern fiction becomes evident. The first of the five infernal judges in the Chinese mythology is said to view men's evil deeds in a looking-glass ; and although it is not supposed that such was the origin of the idea, it is not unlikely that as the catoptric studies, which were pursued among the Greeks in St. Paul's time, became the source of metaphors (as we may perceive them to have become from some passages in Diogenes Laërtius and Plutarch), so those metaphors were present to his mind. In this way we observe metaphorical expressions among one people converted into facts among others : thus, as God in the Scriptures is represented weighing things in a balance, we find scales attributed in various mythologies to the future judge, or to the Deity balancing the events and actions of this life. The sinner among the Chinese is described in a state of equipoise, his iniquities being placed in one scale, his books of devotion and merits in the other, till the preponderance shall be determined.

The customs of different people respecting death and the dead are curious. The ternary repetition of Vale ! and the custom of throwing earth or dust three times on the body, to which Horace (l. i. 28, 35, 36) alludes,—

‘Quamquam festinas (non est mora longa) licebit
Injecto *ter* pulvere curras,’

were of very remote antiquity, and bear an analogy to that of the Persians, mentioned by Hafiz, of throwing on it two handfuls of earth. The Jews once had a habit of plucking grass from graves, and throwing it *thrice* behind them, repeating the words of the Psalmist, ‘They shall flourish out of the city like grass,’ which they accounted emblematical of the resurrection. On the other hand, the Beduins place grass on the tombs of their saints, because they account it Nature's most precious gift, with which we may compare the words of Moschus, αἰ, αἰ, τὰι μαλακαὶ, &c., and Job xiv. 7. The renewal of the grass in its season betokened the renewal of life at the resurrection ; and under this idea trees were
planted

planted round the resting-places of deceased persons. The inhabitants of Apalacha planted them in honour of dead Paraoustis, replacing by others those that died; and on a similar principle the Virginians at the conclusion of a peace planted a tree over the buried tomahawk. The Hindus placed them near the graves of rishis; the Abipones selected the shade of woods for their burials; and as the Nubians set two large palm-leaves in the ground at each grave, so the Arabs fixed these branches of palm-trees, which they annually changed at the Ramadhan. In the Hejaz a low species of aloe, called *صبر* was substituted, which, from requiring but little water and from being ever green, symbolized patience (*صبر*), and, like the palm, typified the resurrection.

Servius, on *Æn.* v. 64, states that among the Romans the corpse remained in its home seven days, was burned on the eighth, and the ashes and bones were interred on the ninth; whence Horace, *Ep.* xvii. 48 (*novendiales dissipare pulveres*) receives an illustration. To the 'conclamatio' and 'planctus funebris' there are abundant parallels in the sacred pages; they seem never to have been absent from the habits of half-civilized people. The Floridan widows cut off their hair, and strewed it over the graves of their husbands, and were not allowed to re-enter the connubial state till it should have grown again below their shoulders; and the Guaranies placed the bodies of their dead in clay pitchers, as the ibis was placed in Egypt, the bottoms of the pitchers being towards Heaven, the tops on the ground. They had also sacred anniversaries in honour of their ancestors, and for nine nights observed recent funereal obsequies. And as the Jewish altar was circumambulated (*Ps.* xxvi. 6, *וְאֶסְבְּבָהּ*), and as the priests were so accustomed to go round it at the time of an oblation, and as Jericho and other places were in like manner encompassed, we observe a circumambulation of the tomb to be usual among the Hindús. We trace it in Pindar's Olympic, where he first mentioned the Tomb of Pelops; and in Suetonius, where he alluded to the honorary sepulchre of Drusus, '*circa quem (tumulum) deinceps stato die quotannis miles decurreret.*' Such were the Deasil and the Widersinnis; the Jews also walked *seven* times round the coffins of their friends. The period of mourning varied in different countries: at Feridun's interment leave was taken of the corpse before the vault was closed, and *seven* days of general mourning were observed *according to established custom*, *چون بود* *چشم*. On the eighth day Manuchehr exercised his sovereignty. Such was exactly the period of Joseph's mourning for Jacob.

Arrian

Arrian and Diodorus Siculus have recorded the extravagance on those occasions, which Firdausi's account confirms. The mourning at Siamek's death lasted a year; and the Sháhnameh mentions the immolation of animals. Others did not think it sufficient to bury with the warrior his arms (*suaque arma viro*), or to inter with him a subsistence for his journey from this world to the next, but they slaughtered his horse, that he might ride him, and offered *inferiæ*, and immolated his slaves. The Sutti-rite in India is an existing remain of the practice. The savages of Paraguay slew horses at the graves of their caciques and warriors; and those in the south led several times round them their horses and dogs, the former being adorned with small glass beads, copper belts, and emu feathers before they killed them; after which their bodies were fastened to the grave with stakes, and garments of different colours were suspended on them. As if the soul had regained its liberty by death, some of the Hindús in Bengal and on the coast of Malabar brought cages of birds and released them at the graves of their friends. To such notions the doctrine of the Metempsychosis was well suited; accordingly it was widely prevalent; and with it the commemoration of ancestors agreed. Although in the Tu-tang of the Chinese, which were edifices commemorative of them, there were no idols, yet was not the practice distinct from idolatry; for they became '*istorum Genii locorum*.' But in the Hu-tang, which were apartments dedicated to them in the houses of the rich, their images were placed, which were visited in the spring and autumn. To this may we likewise refer the practice of visiting the sepulchres of the dead in May. The devotees of Fo, who were Bauddhists, Fo having undeniably been Buddha, probably introduced much of this superstition into China; for, like the Hindús and Parsis, they carry beads, and affect, by a particular ceremony (for which fees to the Bonzes are required), to give a loo-ing, or passport, to the next world. The appearance and disappearance of the sun, symbolized in Egypt by the discovery and loss of Osiris, or Adonis, produced mystical reveries on those ideas, whence arose the *παραγυγενοσία* of Pythagoras.

From the ideas of many, that their deceased friends had entered on a long journey, in part proceeded the feasts in their honour. At the Mortuary festival of the Japanese Sintos, their sepulchres, in which lamps are continually burning, are visited; and the people of Monomotapa and those adjacent to them equally had Musimos or Mortuary festivals. The Chinese of Batavia perform to the dead commemorative honours immediately after the new year, which they call Tien-ling; and children are brought to the tombs of their fathers. The Tatars paid obeisance to fire, air, water, and the

the dead: in the worship of fire they turned themselves to the south, of air to the east, of water to the west, of the dead to the north. So in the circumambulation of individuals by the Hindús and Gaels there was a prescribed mode, which was according to the course of the sun; and we may remark, with reference to the worship of the dead towards the north, that those holy mountains, which were the fabled residences of deities, were situated in that direction, as Gesenius has luminously shown. With respect to the worship of wind towards the east, the Malays by *above the wind* mean eastward, and by *under the wind* westward.

Hence flowed the notion of attendant or ministering genii. Grant, in his *Superstitions of the Highlands*, states that each Highlander believes a spirit to be allied to him, and to be his helpmate not only during his life but during a certain period after his decease. That spirit resembles him in his features, complexion, aspects, and habiliments; 'it grows with his growth, and strengthens with his strength.' Allied to such were the Penates and Lares; the latter the Romans considered the guardians of their bed-chambers. 'Thurinum (scil. Augustum) cognominatum satis certâ probatione tradiderim, nactus puerilem imagunculam ejus, æream, veterem, ferreis ac penè exolescentibus litteris hoc nomine inscriptam, quæ dono à me Principi data inter *cubiculares* colitur' (Suet. Oct. Aug. 7). 'Puer, qui curæ *Larium cubiculi* ex consuetudine assistens, interfuit cædi' (Suet. Dom. 17). The Penates were also accounted guardian divinities, to which some, without a sufficient authority, have compared the Teraphim.

Some of the wild Indians left the faces of their dead uncovered for a time, that the intercourse between the body and the good spirit might be facilitated. The Gütische Lar of the old Germans belonged to this protecting class. The counterparts to him were numerous. These ideas were not unknown to Horace,—

'Scit Genius natale comes qui temperat astrum,
Naturæ Deus humanæ mortalis in unum
Quodque caput, vultû mutabilis, albus et ater.'

Ep. ii. 2, 187.^b

Here, in *mortalis*, we observe the Oriental idea, that this genius departed at the death of the individual; but the clearest development of it was in the Furuher of the Persians. Creuzer considers the numberless Furuher as prototypes of ideas, through whom one and all live in Nature—the patterns of every being transcribed from the Being of Ormuzd—who keep watch in Heaven against Ahriman, and convey to Ormuzd the prayers of the righteous,

^b Cf. Ammianum Marcellinum, l. 21; *Censorinum de die Natali*; and Plutarchum, *De Defectu Oraculorum*.

purifying them from all evil. Being united with bodies on earth, they fight against evil spirits; and even Ormuzd himself has a Furuher. For although self-subsistent, he clothes his thoughts in the Almighty Word, and the expression of them is his Furuher. The ideal world being thus filled with them, we probably may detect the source from whence came Plato's doctrine of ideas in the Divine Mind.

We have observed in other instances that the dominant notion is the same, although the expression of it may vary in different places. What is the pelting away of the *مردی شو*, or washer of corpses in Persia, who is merely allowed to enter villages, that he may perform his office, but the one a custom, and the other a person allied to the Parascrites and his treatment in ancient Egypt? Trembling and a sensation of cold were the general effects of apparitions; and nowhere are those effects so vividly described as in Job iv. 12-17. So in Firdausi, when Sam saw his son Zal in a vision, as he was on the road to Elborz, with a Múbid holding his left hand, and a sage his right, the poet writes,—

پیش اسار آمدی زمین دو مرد
زبان برکشادی بکنتر سرد

to which

‘Obstupui, steteruntque comæ, et vox faucibus hæsit’

will be no inapt paraphrase. Those customs and opinions show more or less the belief in a future state. Thus, some occasionally slept in sepulchres under the idea that the souls hovered over the bodies, and under the expectation of a revelation of futurity by them in dreams. Isaiah (lxv. 4) has been supposed to have referred to some such custom.

With several of these notions the Jews probably became acquainted during the captivity in Babylon and their intercourse with the Persians, and with others after the establishment of some of their nation in Egypt. The Apocryphal books disclose strong evidences of corresponding opinions. Many German writers have fully proved the assertion. So whilst we can retrace one class to perverted traditions of Biblical events or doctrines, we can account for the rest by the history and circumstances of the people.

ULPHILAS, AND HIS GOTHIC VERSION OF THE SCRIPTURES.

By DR. SERGIUS LOEWE.

- [1. *Ulfilas Veteris et Novi Testamenti versionis Gothicæ fragmenta, quæ supersunt, ad fidem Codd. castigata, latinitate donata, adnotatione critica instructa cum Glossario et Grammatica linguæ Gothicæ*, conjunctis curis ediderunt H. C. de Gabelentz et Dr. J. Loebe, ii. vol. 4. Lips. 1836-47.
2. *Ueber das Leben und die Lehre des Ufila*; i. e. *on the Life and Doctrine of Ufila*. By Geo. Waitz, Hanover, 1840. 4. pp. 62.]

THE almost universal wish expressed in modern days, to know in how far the study of ancient German or rather Gothic literature may become subservient to the researches made in the province of sacred archæology and biblical criticism, and in some measure to a right understanding of the original text of the Holy Scriptures, has given rise to inquiries on this subject, which have been crowned in some instances with a degree of success, surpassing the most sanguine expectations of its most zealous and sincere votaries and advocates. It might, however, be fairly asked: Are the monuments of ancient Gothic literature of so interesting and important a character, and so numerous, too, as to guarantee a reward for the attention and labour which a study of them might demand? We candidly confess, that we are not quite prepared to answer this question with that precision and confidence which it deserves. Yet we do not hesitate to say, that while the literary monuments of a 'purely' sacred character may be found as amounting to only a few, those of a profane character, on the other hand, which are more or less connected with the former, are unquestionably very numerous; there being a profusion of most interesting and invaluable compositions.

However, as our main object is to point out with as much precision and clearness as circumstances will admit of, the innate character and merits of Ulphilas' translation of the Holy Scriptures, we shall abstain from offering any remark on Gothic *profane* literature, except in so far as it may have a direct or indirect bearing on the subject under consideration. For this reason we shall inquire, in the first place, into the early history of Gothic culture and civilization; and, in the second, into the origin of Gothic sacred literature, and explain in this manner the important change which took place in the moral and religious character of the Goths, about the middle of the third century after the removal of our
blessed

blessed Redeemer, the consequence of which was a most extraordinary phenomenon, namely, their being among the first nations of antiquity that embraced the Christian doctrine.

The degree of civilization which the Germans had attained among the nations of antiquity, is in point of science and art inferior to that of the Greeks and Romans. But they were nevertheless intelligent, and possessed very superior mental and moral qualifications, so that they cannot be regarded, strictly speaking (and were it only for this reason), as rude and uncivilized, although they were anything but free from certain passions and foibles, which, as belonging to a nation, were peculiarly their own. In a moral point of view, however, they were by no means inferior, but most decidedly superior to many, even the most refined nations of that and subsequent ages. For had it been otherwise, why should Tacitus recommend them to his own nation as a model?

The source of the spiritual and moral culture of the Germans was their religion, simple manners, and good habits. Ancient historical writers tell us that they loved honour and freedom, and were brave, faithful, chaste, and hospitable,—virtues, which are praised in them by Tacitus, Cæsar, and other writers of that date, and which they continued to foster even after they had entered upon a close connection with the Romans; so that, while the latter were distinguished at one time for gross sensuality, effeminacy, and corrupt morals, the former preserved the integrity of their national character in its pristine purity, and kept aloof from the vicious habits of their allies. In the fidelity with which the German was attached to his leader,^a in the veneration which the women experienced in private and public life,^b and in the characteristic features just mentioned, we see the first germs of that chivalrous life, which developed itself in subsequent ages throughout the whole of the West; while in the basis of their religion, the regard they had for the law, and the administration of justice, we discover the elements of a true Christian character.

Their whole worship of gods, the numerous god and ghost-like beings, down to the very water, mountain and familiar spirits, giants and elves, was based upon deep and sincere feeling, because their whole moral being was penetrated by lofty ideas concerning beings of a higher order, and a continuation after death. They worshipped not their gods in the form of images, idols, or symbols, but as invisible spirits; their spiritual ideas were free from materialism; and, although temples were not unknown to them, yet the free and open nature, or their so-called 'sacred groves,' were their most favourite places for worshipping them.^c Hence we find among

^a Tac. *Germ.* 13, 14.

^b Ibid. 18, 19.

^c Ibid. 9.

them

them no despotic priestly cast (much as the priesthood was esteemed by them) who dared encroach upon, or interfere with the freedom and privileges of their private life. Neither were the minds of men kept in that constant state of terror and thralldom, which is ever the result of an hierarchical system, and as was the case with the Celts and other ancient nations. Nature herself was the centre and sole object, upon which the German conferred the greatest amount of reverence, and which he regarded with a sort of religious shyness and awe.

That such a people should be particularly fit for the reception of the 'glad tidings,' and 'the truth as it is in Jesus,' is most obvious. Nor was it long ere the Divine light began to shine upon it. The Western Goths, or *Wisigoths*, were the first who embraced Christianity, the precious seed of which seems to have been sown among them by some Christian priests, whom the Goths had made prisoners in Asia Minor, from whence they were brought to Europe about the middle of the third century after Christ. From the *Wisigoths* Christianity proceeded to the Eastern Goths, or *Austrogoths*, from whom it came to the Vandals and Gepidæ, with whom the former were related by language and manners; so that in progress of time the Germanic races, who benefited mankind in so many other ways, even promoted at a very early period the growth of Christianity throughout the whole of Europe.

There is a passage in Fichte's *Characteristics of the Present Age* which has a close bearing upon this subject, and which is so full of truth and beautiful ideas, that we cannot resist the temptation to give at least a part of it:—

'It was necessary,' says this philosophical writer, 'that the fundamental elements of the new state should further bear the general European national characteristic—a keen sense and love of right and freedom—in order that they might not return to Asiatic despotism, but willingly admit the principle of equal rights for all, which had been previously developed among the Greeks and Romans. They would have to combine with this general characteristic the particular feature of a delicate sense of honour, in order that they might be accessible to the legitimate influence of Christianity upon public opinion, which we have already pointed out. Precisely such elements as we have described were found among the Germanic races, as if they had been expressly reserved for this great purpose. I mention only these; for the devastating inroads of other races had no enduring results, and those kingdoms of other origin who are incorporated with the republic of nations now existing in Europe, have for the most part received Christianity and culture by means of the Germanic tribes. These Germanic tribes—who were apparently of similar descent to the Greeks, and must have held intercourse with them at an earlier period, as a strict examination of the respective languages might incontestably prove,—probably occupied the same stage of culture in their forests, as the Greeks in their heroic

heroic ages. Many a Hercules, Jason, or Theseus, may there have assembled around them willing associates, and achieved wonderful adventures with them, unnoticed by history. Their worship was simple as their manners, and they were seldom disturbed by scruples about their moral worthiness. Independence, freedom, and universal equality, had become natural to them by the usage of centuries. To fix the regards of all men by bold and hazardous enterprises, and after death to live in the songs of later times, was the aim of the more noble among them; faithfulness even unto death on the part of the free follower towards his leader, was the glory and honour of others; and any breach of faith was universally regarded as so insupportable a disgrace, that even the younger and stronger, who had forfeited the freedom which they had laid at stake, voluntarily surrendered their persons to the disposal of the older and feebler winner, and even to slavery. These were the elements out of which Christianity had to build up its new state.'

The consequence of all this was that the Goths and other German tribes had their own bishops, priests, and deacons, even so early as the latter end of the third century, one of whom, Bishop Theophilus, was among those that signed the decrees of the Nicæan councils.

However, the operations thus commenced could not be confined to a few branches only of the Teutonic race; and if extended much farther, what guarantee had those who were engaged in this praiseworthy cause that their labours would not be spent in vain, and that the nations converted would not relapse into their former, although modified, state of paganism? Hence,

'It must have appeared evident to the converters even at the very commencement,' says the excellent Gervinus in speaking of the introduction of Christianity among the Teutonic races, 'that nothing would be more fit for an inculcation of Christianity, than the diffusion of Christian writings composed in the vulgar tongue, and that in order to divert the ever busy spirit of the people from their former Pagan recollections, nothing would be better than to bestow on it a new and different occupation. With this intention, perhaps, was made the precious *Gothic version of the Bible* by Bishop Ulphilas, who carefully omitted the Books of Kings (how remarkable and well-meant!), in order that his warlike people might not be led into temptation.'^d

Great honour, therefore, is due to *Ulfila*, *Ulphilas*, or simply *Wölfa* (all these various names, which signify one and the same thing, and belong to one and the same person, are derived from the Gothic '*Wulfs*,' signifying a wolf; whence some writers, as for example *Hugo Grotius*, generally write this name *Wulphila*),

^d Handbuch der Geschichte der poetischen National Literatur der Deutschen, i. e. Manual of the History of the poetical National Literature of the Germans. By G. G. Gervinus. Leipzig, 1842.

a bishop of the so-called Wisigoths, for the labour he bestowed in the promotion and confirmation of Christianity among his countrymen, as also for the pains he took in the advancement of their civilization and moral improvement.*

Little is known concerning this great man, and for this little we are indebted to a MS. treatise of *Auxentius*, a disciple of Ulphilas, and Bishop of Silistria, and to the few writings of other men. The treatise of Auxentius, which is said to belong to the fourth century, was recently discovered at Paris by Geo. Waitz, who has published it under the title given at the head of this article. According to this and other writers, Ulphilas was a descendant of some bishop, or at least was the son of parents who were of Cappadocian extraction, who had been made prisoners by the Goths during their incursion into Asia, and was born in Moesia, the modern Bulgaria, on the other side of the Danube, about the year 318. As the branch of the Gothic tribe to which he belonged, dwelt thus near and within the borders of the then Greek empire, and carried on, moreover, a lively intercourse with the Greek inhabitants of Constantinople, he was therefore sent to this place, where he received a Greek education. He then entered the church, and being sent as ambassador to the Emperor Constantine, was ordained first Bishop of the Christian Wisigoths by Eusebius of Nicomeda, in the year 348. On his return, he discovered a holy zeal in his sacred office, and earnestly laboured for the conversion of the neighbouring pagans. His exertions were rewarded with numerous conversions, though not unfrequently accompanied by a high degree of danger to himself.

His learning must have been extensive considering the age in which he lived; for versed not only in the Gothic, Greek, and Latin languages in which, according to Auxentius, he preached and wrote, it was still necessary for him to possess a critical knowledge of the formation of language in general, to enable him to invent some letters, and construct new words and sentences expressive of the sense of Sacred Scripture, and suited to the genius of the language in which he wrote. A man of superior genius and endowment, he not only laboured with unwearied zeal, to transfuse the sublime doctrines of Holy Writ among those by whom he was surrounded, but he also contributed much towards the civilization of the people under his care. He taught his countrymen the use of letters that were more adapted to a state of civilization, than those of the barren and imperfect alphabet, to which they had hitherto been accustomed.

* Vorlesungen über die Geschichte der Deutschen National Literatur, i. e. Lectures on the History of the German National Literature. By Dr. A. F. C. Vilgar. Marburg, 1844.

Sent by Fritigern to the court of Valens, the Roman emperor and zealous follower of Arius, to solicit aid against Athanaric, the sovereign of the Ostrogoths, a mission, in which he fully succeeded, he was induced by *Eudoxius*, Bishop of Constantinople, to regard the dispute respecting Arius as a mere verbal difference, and to communicate with the Arians, in which he was only too soon followed by the rest of the Gothic Christians. In the year 360, Ulphilas attended the synod of Constantinople, whither he repaired in 388, in order to defend the Arian doctrine. Here he died after a life of unwearied assiduity in the cause of religion, and of patriotic labours for the welfare of his country, at the age of seventy.

This divine was esteemed by his nation and contemporaries for his piety, zeal, learning, and manners. The latter, if judged from circumstances, appear to have been benign and persuasive, gentle, and yet dignified, uniting the courtier and the Christian bishop, so as to command the respect of friend and foe, Christian and Pagan.

Leaving undecided in how far Philostorgius is wrong in asserting that Ulphilas omitted the books of Kings, or in how far Gibbon's remark is just, 'that the Arianism of Philostorgius appears to have given him superior means of information,' it appears incontrovertible that Ulphilas translated the *entire* Bible. Herein consists his immortal merit; by this undertaking, which took place in the reign of the Emperor Valens, he immortalized his name. In his version of the New Testament he has followed the original Greek; while in that of the Old Testament he has adhered to the Septuagint. Yet, although both Testaments are translated apparently from the Greek; still their coincidence in many instances with the Latin, affords a reason to suspect that this translation has been interpolated, though at a remote period, from the Vulgate. Its unquestionable antiquity, however, and its general fidelity, have concurred to give it a very high place in the estimation of biblical critics.

When we speak of Ulphilas' invention of the Gothic characters; or, when some Greek ecclesiastical historians of the fifth century, as for example *Philostorg.* (ii. 5); *Socrat.* (iv. 33); *Sozomen*, (vi. 37); and at a later period some Latin ones ascribe to him the invention of the Gothic alphabet, all that thereby is meant, is, that Ulphilas created an alphabet which is founded on the original Gothic as it existed previous to, and during a part of his own time.¹ The Gothic language, although it cannot be regarded as the mother of the primitive Germanic idiom, may be considered nevertheless as the main branch of it, which was at that period, with the exception of the High and Low German, the most finished idiom. But

¹ *Handbuch der Geschichte der Deutschen Literatur.* By Dr. J. W. Schaefer. Bremen, 1842.

being poor, and in a great measure unfit for elaborate, especially Scriptural compositions, Ulphilas was compelled to create new words, or rather borrow them from a language, the construction of which resembled that of the Gothic, in order to express by this means those Scriptural and other sublime ideas, which were as yet unknown to his countrymen. Such a language was the Greek, with which the German or Gothic has the greatest analogy, on account of its having most probably originated in one and the same source. By borrowing now and then a Greek letter, to express a certain sound peculiar to the Gothic, he gradually supplied a deficiency, which, until then, had rendered the Gothic alphabet incomplete. This, then, and nothing else, is meant, whenever Ulphilas is mentioned as the inventor of the Gothic alphabet. For, had he really invented a new one, of what use would it have been either to him or his countrymen? Who would have been able to read his writings composed in foreign characters? But, we need only glance at the characters which he used for his translation, in order to become fully convinced of the veracity or plausibility of this view. Some have asserted that the characters in which the version of the New Testament is written, are in fact the Latin characters of that age. This assertion, we think, is sufficiently refuted in the foregoing remarks. The degree of perfection which the Gothic language had attained, especially during the time of Ulphilas, sufficiently proves that it had been written for some time. But Ulphilas is supposed, also, to have availed himself of some Runic or Scandinavian characters. This he did, as has recently been proved,^s in order to render the Runic characters more accessible and useful to his countrymen.

After the foregoing remarks, it may be well to inquire into the general character and peculiarity of Ulphilas' version of the Bible, and to dwell on those records or manuscripts of it, considerable portions and fragments of which are still in existence.

If the statement of Philostorgius (ii. 5.) concerning this version be at all correct, (although there is ample ground for doubting it, for reasons which we shall point out hereafter,) the books of Samuel and the Kings are the only portions of the Old Testament, the translation of which he designedly omitted, from an apprehension that the warlike spirit of his nation might be roused by the relation of the Jewish Wars.

The whole performance may be regarded as highly successful; for, while it adheres to the original text with the utmost fidelity, it displays so much ease, and is so free from constraint or stiffness, that we are at a loss which to admire most, his scholar-like acquire-

^s S. Lund's *Diss. de Zamolxi primo Getarum Legislatore*.

ments, or his thorough knowledge of the sacred writings. It is distinguished, like all the productions of that and the following periods, down to the twelfth or thirteenth century, for a certain degree of freshness of thought, unconsciousness, or innocence, purity, and power of diction, an agreeable air of holiness, carefulness and wonderful variation of ideas, features which we look in vain for in writings of greater pretence of more recent date. The following three specimens borrowed from very elaborate recent publications will illustrate what we have said. The first is the Lord's Prayer from the sixth chapter of the Gospel according to St. Matthew. It is taken from Zahn's edition of Ulphilas' Translation (of this anon), and is accompanied by *Fulda's* interlinear Latin version of it, and a few explanatory remarks (chiefly from Adelung's *Mithridates*, i. 185, sq.) which we have deemed proper to annex. The second is a fragment of the xv. ch. of the Gospel of St. Luke, according to the reading of H. C. Gabelentz and Doctor J. Loebe; while the third is a portion of the vi. ch. of St. Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians, taken from the same work. For a better understanding and correct estimation of the latter, we have placed the original by the side of it.

THE LORD'S PRAYER FROM THE SIXTH CHAPTER OF THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO ST. MATTHEW.

Atta unsar thu in himinam. weihnai namo thein. Quimai thiudinassus
Pater noster tu in calis, sanctificetur nomen tuum. Veniat regnum
theins. wairthai wilja theins. swe in himina jah ana airthai. Hlaif
tuum, fiat voluntas tua. sicut in celo et super terra. Panem
unsarana thana sinteinan gif us himmadago. Jah afet uns thatei
nostrum rōv perpetuum da nobis hodie. Et remitte nobis quod
skulans sijaima. swaswe jah weis afetam thaim skulam unsaraim.
rei simus. sicut et nos remittimus rois debitoribus nostris.
Jah ni briggais uns in fraistubnjai. ak lausei uns af thamma ubilin.
Et non feras nos in tentationi. sed libera nos a rōw malo
unte theina ist thiudangardi. jah mahts. jah wulthus. in aiwins. Amen.
enim tua est regnum. et potentia et gloria. in aeternitate. Amen.

Atta, Father.—This word is one of rude Nature's own formations.

The syllables *ab*, *ac*, *ta*, *pa*, *am*, *ma*, *dad*, *dad-dy*, etc., are, generally speaking, the first coherent sounds which the child utters. It is for this reason that we find them in the father- and mother-appellations, that are in use by nations inhabiting the remotest regions of the earth. This word, used in the language of the natives of the eastern coast of Africa, between the ninth and sixteenth degree of northern latitude, runs *abba*, between which and the Hebrew אב (aav), father, there exists the most surprising similarity.

Unsar (the *unser* in modern German), Our.—The position of the pronoun and adjective after the substantive, which occurs in this place and in the four first prayers, is no doubt in imitation of the Greek, as, for example, Πάτερ ἡμῶν, etc.

Thu in himinam, thou in heavens.—The omission of the pronoun *which*, and the auxiliary verb *art*, is quite in accordance with the Greek, as: ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς. *Himinam* is the dative plural of *himins*, Gen. *is*, Dat. *a*, Acc. *in*; Plur. *himinos*, *e*, AM, *ans*. It therefore corresponds with the Greek οὐρανοῖς and the Latin *cœlis*.

Weihnai (from *weihan*), hallowed be, or may it be hallowed, is the third person of the present tense of the subjunctive mood. And so is *quimai*, which is derived from *quiman*, to come, and *wairthai* from *wairthan* (the German *werden*), to become.

Ana (super) upon, is a preposition, signifying *to*, *in*, *upon*.

Airthai (the German *Erde*), earth, is the dative singular of *airtha*, earth, a word which is common with many languages, and of which the term *Hertha*, as mentioned in *Tacitus*, is a closely related form.

Thana, the, is the accusative singular of the definite article *thai*, the. *Gif*, give, is the imperative mood of *giban*, to give. This verb was at the time of Ulphilas as irregular as it is now.

Himmadago, to-day (*hodie*), is only another form for *hina dag*, “this day,” which is our “to-day.”

Thatei.—The meaning of this word is very obscure. Some, as for example, *Johann Ihre*, the learned Swedish writer (more of whom presently), are of opinion that it is the definite article *sa*, *so*, *thata*, the, for all the three genders, with the annexed syllable *ei*.

Skulans, trespassers, is the plural of *skula*, a debtor, trespasser, malefactor.

Sijaima, is the first person plural of the present tense, of the subjunctive mood of the irregular verb *wisan*, to be. The present tense of the indicative mood is *Im*, *Is*, *Ist*; plural, *Sijum*, *Sijuth*, *Sijud*. In the subjunctive mood, however, it is: *Sijan*, *Sijais*, *Sijai*; plural: *SIJAIMA* (the Latin *simus*), *Sijaith*, *Sijaina*.

Thaim, them, is evidently the Greek *τοῖς*.

Briggais, bring.—This is the imperative mood of *briggan*, which is used for *bringan* (the German *bringen*) to bring. The doubling of the *g* instead of adding the letter *n*, is evidently an imitation of the Greek mode of spelling, as for example in ἄγγελος, ἄγγελμα, καχασμός, etc., and is met with throughout the whole of Ulfilas' translation, as for example, *Tuggo*, tongue; *Figgar*, finger; *Draggk*, drink; *Siggoan*, to sing, etc.

In fraistubnjai, into temptation, is derived from *fraisan*, to tempt. The termination *ubnjai*, is not unlike our *ing*, as for example in tempt-*ing*, drink-*ing*, speak-*ing*, etc.

Lausei, deliver, free, loosen, from *lausgan*, to loosen, etc. (the German *lösen*, *erlösen*), for which the Greeks use λύσαι.

Af, of, from, (the Latin *ab*).

Whuthus, glory.—Splendour signifies in Anglo-Saxon, *wuldor*, which is related to the Latin *fulgor*, brightness, splendour.

Aiwins, eternity, derived from *aiv*, ævum, (and related perhaps to our *ever*), and the Greek αἰών.

EVANGELIUM

EVANGELIUM LUCÆ.

Ed. H. C. de Gabelentz et J. Loebe. Vol. i.

The numbers at the foot of the page refer to the lines in which the various readings occur.)

11. Ἐπὶν δὲ "Ἀνθρώπος τις ἔχεν δύο υἱούς. Καὶ ἦσαν ὁ νεώτερος αὐτῶν τῷ πατρὶ, "Πα-
 δός μοι τὸ ἐπιβάλλον μοι μέρος τῆς οὐ-
 ρῆς." Καὶ διέδωκεν αὐτοῖς τὸν βίον αὐτοῦ. 13. Καὶ
 οὐ πολλὰς ἡμέρας συναγαγὼν πάντα
 ἑταίρους υἱὸς ἀπέδημυσεν εἰς χώραν μακρὰν,
 ἐκεῖ διασπορεύσας τὴν οὐσίαν αὐτοῦ ζῶν-
 τας. 14. Διαπανήσαντος δὲ αὐτοῦ πάντα
 το λημὸς ἰσχυρὰ κατὰ τὴν χώραν ἐκείνην
 αὐτὸς ἤρξατο ὑπεριβῆσαι. 15. Καὶ περι-
 ἐκλήθη ἐνὶ τῶν παλιταῖς τῆς χώρας ἐκεῖ-
 καὶ ἱταμψεν αὐτὸν εἰς τοὺς ἀγρούς αὐτοῦ
 αὐν χείρας. 16. Καὶ ἐπιθύμει χροσασθῆ-
 ῖα τῶν παρασίτων ὧν ἦσαν οἱ χεῖρες, καὶ
 ὁ θίδου αὐτοῦ. 17. Εἰς ἑαυτὸν δὲ ἰδὼν
 "Πόσαι μέλισσαι τοῦ πατρὸς μου περισσεύ-
 οῦσιν ἐγὼ δὲ λημῶ ἀπὸλλυμαι. 18. "Ἀνα-
 στείνομαι πρὸς τὸν πατέρα μου, καὶ ἰσῶ
 ᾧ. Πάτερ, ἡμαρτον εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ ἐν-
 οῦ σου." 19. οὕτως ἔμεινεν ἄλλος
 ἦναι υἱὸς σου" ποιήσας μοι ὡς ἴνα τὰν
 ἴαν σου." 20. Καὶ ἀναστὰς ἦλθεν πρὸς τὸν
 ἑταῖ αὐτοῦ. "Εἶτι δὲ αὐτοῦ μακρὰν ἀπέστη-
 ῖν αὐτὸν ὁ πατήρ αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἰσπλαγχνύ-
 ῖν δαμῶν ἐκίπτεται ἐπὶ τὸν τράχηλον αὐτοῦ
 κατεβίβησεν αὐτόν. 21. Ἐπὶν δὲ αὐτῷ ὁ υἱὸς
 ἄτις, ἡμαρτον εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ ἐνώπιον
 οὐκίτης ἱμὶ ἄλλος κληθῆναι
 σου." 22. Ἐπὶν δὲ ὁ πατήρ πρὸς τοὺς δούλους
 ᾧ. "Ταχὺ ἐξηνίκαται τὴν στολὴν τὴν πρά-
 καὶ ἐνδύσασθε αὐτὸν, καὶ ὅτε διακύνω εἰς τὴν
 α αὐτοῦ καὶ ὑποδήματα εἰς τοὺς πόδας αὐ-
 23. καὶ ἐνίγκαταις τὸν μόσχον τὸν σιτυτὸν
 τε, καὶ φαργνίτες ὑφρανθῶμεν." 24. ὅτι οὐ-
 ὁ υἱὸς μου νεκρὸς ἦν καὶ ἀνέζησεν, καὶ ἀπο-
 ὅς ἦν καὶ ἐκείνη." Καὶ ἤρξαντο ὑφραίνεσθαι.
 "Ἦν δὲ ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ ὁ πρεσβύτερος ἐν ἀγροῦ.
 ὡς ἐρχόμενος ἤγγισεν τῇ οἰκίᾳ, ἤκουσεν συμ-
 ας καὶ χοῦν." 26. καὶ προσκαλισάμενος ἴνα
 παιδὸν ἐκυνθάνιστο τί εἴη ταῦτα. 27. "Ὁ
 πιν αὐτόν." "Ὅτι ὁ ἀδελφός σου ἦν ἡμεῖς, καὶ
 ἐν ὁ πατήρ σου τὸν μόσχον τὸν σιτυτὸν,
 ὑφραίνοντα αὐτὸν ἀπὸ λαβῆν." 28. "Ἐργίση
 καὶ οὐκ ἤθελεν ἐκινθῆν." 29. ὁ δὲ πατήρ αὐτοῦ
 ἴαν παρεκάλει αὐτόν. 30. "Ὁ δὲ ἀπαρη-
 γίσει τῷ πατρὶ." "Ἰδὼν ταυτὰ ἴτη δουλεύω
 καὶ οὐδὲ ποτε ἐντελὴν σου παρεῖλον, καὶ
 οὐδὲ ποτε ἰδὼκατος ἔφρον, ἴνα μισθὸς τὸν
 μου ἀριστήσω." 30. ὅτι δὲ ὁ υἱὸς σου οὐ-

Qvathuth than, manne sums aihtha tvans sununs.
 jah qvath sa juhiza ize du attin. atta.
 gif mis. sei undrinnai mik. dail aig-
 inis. jah disdailida im sves sein. jah
 afar ni managans dagans brahta samana allata
 sa juhiza sunus jah afaith in land fairra vis-
 ando jah jainar distabida thata sves seinata lib-
 ands usstiuriba. bithe than fravas allamma.
 varth hubrus abrs and gavi jainata.
 jah is dugann alatharba vairthan jah gagg-
 ands gahaftida sik sumamma baurgjane jainis
 gaujis. jah insandida ina haithjos seinaizos
 haldan sveina. jah gairnida sad itan
 haurne. theoi matidedun sveina. jah
 manna imma ni gaf. qvimands than in sis
 qvath. hvan filu asnje attins meinis ufarassau
 haband hlaibe. ith ik huhrau fraqvistva. usstand-
 ands gaggja du attin meinamma jab qvitha du
 imma. atta. fravaurhta mis in himin jah in and-
 vairthja theinamma. ju thanaseiths in im vairths
 ei haitaidan sunus theins. gatavei mik sve ainana
 asnje theinaize. jah usstandans qvam at
 attin seinamma. nauhtanuh than fairra visand-
 an gasahv ina atta is jah in feinoda
 jah thragjands draus ana hals is
 jah kukida imma. jah qvath imma sa sunus.
 atta. fravaurhta in himin jah in andvairthja
 theinamma. ju thanaseiths ni im vairths ei hatai-
 dau sunus theins. qvath than sa atta du skalkam
 seinaim. sprauto bringith vastja tho frumist-
 on jah gavasjith ina jah gibith figgra gulth in
 handu is jah gaskoh ana fotuns
 is. jah briggandans stiur thana alidan uf-
 sneithith. jah matjandans visam vaila. unte sa
 sunus meins dauths vas jah gaqvunoda jah fra-
 lusans vas jah bigitans varth. jah dugunnnun visan.
 vasuth than sunus is sa althiza ana akra
 jah qvimands atiddja nehv razn jah gahaufida
 saggvins jah laikans. jah athaitands. sumana
 magive frabuh. hva vesi thata. tharuh
 is qvath du imma theatei brother theins qvam. jah
 usfnaith atta theins stiur thana alidan.
 unte hailana ina andnam. thanuh modags
 varth jah ni vilda inngaggan. ith atta is
 usgaggands ut bad ina. tharuh is andhaf-
 jands qvath du attin. sai. sva filu jere skalkinoda
 thus jah ni hvanhuh anabuns theina ufariddja. jah
 mis ni aiv atgaft gaitein ei mith
 frijondam meinaim bivesjau. ith than sa sunus

συνήγαγεν 6. καὶ ἀπέδημυσεν 11, 12. ἐκείνης
 χώρας 15. αὐτῷ ἰδίδου. Ἐλθὼν δὲ εἰς
 ὃν 26. Καὶ ἔπειτα αὐτῷ 38. Καὶ ἐρχόμενος
 ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ καὶ ἤκουεν 46. ἰδούλαστα.

τος, ὁ καταφαγών σου τὸν βίον μετὰ τῶν πορνῶν ἄλθιν, ἴθυσας αὐτῷ τὸν μισθον τὸν εἰσιτυτόν.” 31. ‘Ο δὲ ἐῖπεν αὐτῷ “Τίκνον, σὺ πάντοτε μετ’ ἡμοῦ εἶ, καὶ πάντα τὰ ἡμᾶς σά ἴσθης.” 32. ἐν-φρασθήναι δὲ καὶ χαρῆσαι ἰδοί, ὅτι ὁ ἀδελφός σου νικῆς ἦν καὶ ἀνίστησιν, καὶ ἀπολωλὸς καὶ ἐνέστη.”

4. ἦς καὶ εἴ 4, 5. ἐνφρασθήναι καὶ.

theins. saei frat thein sves mith kalkjom. qvam. ussnaist imma stiur thana alidan. tharuh qvath du imma. barnilo. thu sinteino mith mis vast jah is. jah all thata mein thein ist. vaila visan jah faginon skuld vas. unte brother theins dauths vas jah gaqviunoda, jah fralusans jah bigitans varth.

1. frat], according to vol. i. p. 844 of Jac. Grimm's Grammar, with whom Gabelentz and Loebe agree. The codex has *fret*.

EPISTLE TO THE EPHESIANS.

VI. 10. Τοῦ λοιποῦ, ἀδελφοί μου, ἰδυναμοῦσθε ἐν κυρίῳ καὶ ἐν τῇ κράτει τῆς ἰσχύος αὐτοῦ. 11. Εὐδυσασθε τὴν πανοπλίαν τοῦ θεοῦ πρὸς τὸ δύνασθαι ὑμᾶς στήναι πρὸς τὰς μεθοδίας τοῦ διαβόλου. 12. ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ὑμῖν ἡ πάλη πρὸς αἶμα καὶ σάρκα, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ ἑξουσίας, πρὸς τοὺς κοσμοκράτορας τοῦ σκότους τούτου, πρὸς τὰ πνευματικὰ τῆς ποινηρίας ἐν τοῖς ἰσχυραίοις. 13. Δὲ τούτο ἀναλάβετε τὴν πανοπλίαν τοῦ θεοῦ, ἵνα δυνηθῆτε ἀντιστήναι ἐν τῇ ἁμίει τῇ ποιηρᾷ καὶ ἅπαντα κατεργασάμενοι στήναι. 14. Στήτε οὖν περιζωσάμενοι τὴν ὀσφίν ὑμῶν ἐν ἀληθείᾳ, καὶ ἰδυσάμενοι τὸν θώρακα τῆς δικαιοσύνης, 15. καὶ ὑποδησάμενοι τοὺς πόδας ἐν ἰτοιμασίᾳ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου τῆς εἰρήνης, 16. ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἀναλαβόντες τὸν θυρῶν τῆς πίστεως, ἐν ᾧ δυνησθε πάντα τὰ βίβη τοῦ ποιηροῦ πικυρῶναι σβίσαι. 17. Καὶ τὴν περιεσφαλῆσαν τοῦ σωτηρίου δεξασθε, καὶ τὴν μάχαιραν τοῦ πνύματος, ὃ ἐστὶν ῥῆμα θεοῦ, 18. διὰ πάσης προσ-ευχῆς καὶ δεήσεως προσευχόμενοι ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ ἐν πνύματι, καὶ εἰς αὐτὸ ἀγρυπνοῦντες πάντοτε ἐν πάσῃ προσκαρτερήσει καὶ δεήσει περὶ πάντων τῶν ἁγίων, 19. καὶ ὑπὲρ ἡμοῦ, ἵνα μοι δοθῇ λόγος, ἐν ἀνοίξει τοῦ στόματός μου ἐν παρήρσει γνωρίσαι τὸ μυστήριον τοῦ εὐαγγελίου, 20. ὑπὲρ οὗ πρῶτον ἦν ἀλύσει, ἵνα ἐν αὐτῷ παρήρσιωμαι ὡς δι' αὐτὸ λαλήσει. 21. Ἰνα δὲ καὶ ὑμεῖς ἰδῆτε τὰ κατ' ἡμᾶς, εἰ πρῶτον, πάντα γνωρίσει ὑμῖν Τυχικός ὁ ἀγαπητὸς ἀδελφός καὶ πιστὸς διάκονος ἐν κυρίῳ, 22. ὃν ἔπιμψα πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἰς αὐτὸ σῶσαι, ἵνα γνῶτε τὰ περὶ ἡμῶν, καὶ παρακαλέ-ση τὰς καρδίας ὑμῶν. 23. Εἰρήνη τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς καὶ ἀγάπῃ μετὰ πίστει ἀπὸ θεοῦ πατρὸς καὶ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. 24. Ἡ χάρις μετὰ πάν-των τῶν ἀγαπώντων τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἐν ἀφθαρσίᾳ. Ἀμήν. Πρὸς Ἐφεσίους ἐκκλησίαν.

1. Τοῦ οὐν λοιποῦ. 6. σάρκα καὶ αἷμα. 23. δεήσιν. 27. ἀλύσει. 28. ἵνα ὑμεῖς. 29. εἰ γὰρ πρῶτον, γνωρίσει ὑμῖν πάντα.

Thata nu anthar brotherjus meinai insvinthjaith izvis in frauja jah in mahtai svintheins is. gahamoth izvis sarvam guths ei mageith standan vithra liftins unbulthins. unte nist izvis brakja vithra leik jah bloth ak vithra reikja jah valdufja vithra thans fairhvu habandans riqvizis this vithra tho ahmeinona unseleins in thaim himinakundam. duththe nimith sarva guths ei mageith andstandan in thamma daga ubiliu jah in allamma usvaurkjandans standan. standaith nu ufgaurdanai hapins izvarans sunjai jah gapaidodai brunjoe garaihteins jah gaskohai fotum in manvithai aivaggeljons gavairthjis ufar all andnimandans skildu galaubeinai. thamm- ei maguth allos arhvaznos this unseleins fun- iskos afhvapjan. jah himl naseinai nimaith. jah meki aha- ins. theatei ist vaurd guths. thairh allos aih- ronins jah bidos aihtrondans in alla mek in ahmiu jah du thamma vakandans sinteino in allai usdaudein jah bidom fram allaim thaim veiham jah fram mis ei mis gibaidan vaurd in usluka munthis meinis in balthein kannjan runa aivaggeljons. fur thoei airino in kunavedom ei in izai gadaurf- jau sve skuljau rodjan ei jus viteith hva bi mik ist. hva ik tanja kanneith izvis alata tukeikus sa liuba brother jah trigva andbaht in frauja. thanei insandida du izvis duth the ei kunneith hva bi ugk ist jah gathraht- jai hairtona izvara. gavairthi brotherum jah friathva mith galaubeinai fram gutha atin jah frauja iesu christau. anfts mith all- aim. theatei frijond frauja unsarana iesu christu in unriurein. amen. du aifasins ustauh.

5. unhuthins] the other manuscript has *de- bulans*. 22. vakandans] the other manuscript has *duvakandans*.

Even so early as the seventeenth century two codices were already known, viz., the *Codex Argenteus*, or silver manuscript, and the *Codex Carolinus*. For the sake of convenience and order, we shall inquire into each MS. separately, making what remarks we have as we go along.

We begin with the *Codex Argenteus*. Concerning the age of this interesting and venerable MS. the opinions vary. Some writers have asserted that it is the very copy which Ulphilas wrote with his own hand; while others suppose it to have been completed by a Bishop of Thrace towards the latter end of the fourth century. It is very unlikely, however, that the only copy of this translation now extant, should be the very original. What militates against this supposition is the fact, that *Eric Benzelius*, Archbishop of Upsala, in Sweden, *Ihre*, and others, have discovered various readings in some of the margins of it, a circumstance which clearly shows that it must have been produced at a time when there existed more than one copy of it.

The work under notice, it would seem, was the property of Alaric, King of Toulouse, whose kingdom and palace was destroyed by Chlodovic or Clovis in the year 507, or thereabouts. According to others, it is said to have belonged to Amalric, who had been conquered by Childebert in the year 531. For many centuries this book had been subsequently preserved in the Benedictine monastery of *Werden*, on the river Ruhr, in the county of Mark, in Westphalia, where it was discovered in the year 1597 by one *Anthony Marillon*, who extracted a few passages, which he inserted in a work entitled *A Commentary on the Gothic Alphabet*, published by one Bonaventura Vulcanius. Some time after, *Arnoldus Mercator* observed it in the same place, and having translated some verses of it, *Gruter* gave them to the world in his *Inscriptiones Antiquæ*.

How this interesting memorial came to that place is quite unknown. From here, however, it was transmitted, according to *Johann Ihre*, the Swedish writer above alluded to, together with other treasures of the same monastery during the triennial war in the seventeenth century, to Prague for security. In the year 1648, when that city was stormed by the Swedes, under the command of Count Königsmark, it fell into the hands of this nobleman, who presented it, with other treasures, to his sovereign, Queen Christina. After remaining for some time in the royal library, to which it had been presented by this extraordinary woman, it disappeared during the confusion which preceded her abdication of the throne of Sweden, and was again brought to light in the Netherlands in the year 1655, whither this manuscript had been taken by *Isaac Vossius*, who had been librarian to the Swedish queen.

queen. Some have supposed that this personage received it as a present from her, while others are of opinion that he brought it away by stealth. The latter is the more probable, since, during the confusion preceding Queen Christina's abdication, *Vossius* is said to have robbed the royal library, and carried away many very rare books and MSS. In the Netherlands one *Francis Junius*, a learned antiquarian, obtained the loan of it, and having made himself thoroughly acquainted with its contents, he carefully copied it, and published it for the first time, dedicating it to the Swedish Count Magnus Gabriel De la Gardie, whom he addresses in his dedication as follows :—

Illustrissimo et Excellentissimo Domino D. Magno Gabrieli De la Gardie, Comiti de Leckan et Arensburg, Domino in Habsal, Magnushoff, et Hoyendorp, S. Regiæ Majestatis Regnique Sueciæ Senatori et Cancellario, Wester-Gothiæ ac Daliciæ Judici Provinciali, nec non Academiæ Upsalensis Cancellario.

The title of the publication runs thus :—

D. N. Jesu Christi Evangeliorum Versiones perantiquæ Duæ, Gothica scil. et Anglo-Saxonica : Quarum illam ex celeberrimo Codice Argenteo nunc primum depromsit Franciscus Junius F. F. Hanc autem ex Codicibus MSS. collatis emendatius recudi curavit Thomas Mareschallus, Anglus : Cujus etiam observationes in utramque Versionem subnectuntur. Accessit et Glossarium Gothicum : cui præmittitur Alphabetum Gothicum, Runicum, etc. opera ejusdem Francisci Junii. Dortrecht, 1665. Typis et sumptibus Junianis, etc.

The codex itself was even at that period in a very bad condition and very irregularly bound, as may be seen from the dedicatory letter of Junius to Count De la Gardie ; and we are indebted to Junius, for the order in which we now find it. According to others, it was the above polished and learned nobleman who reduced it to its present order. It is said that when he heard that the codex was in the possession of *Vossius*, he commissioned the great Puffendorf, who was then on a journey through Holland, to purchase it of him, for which he is stated to have paid the sum of 400 rix-dollars (according to others 600 dollars ; Mr. Coxe says that *Vossius* received 250*l.* for it), and had it bound, or wholly covered over with silver embossed, with the likeness of Ulphilas engraved upon it, in which condition he presented it to the University of Upsala, where it at present remains.

It has been asserted by some writers (on what authority we do not know), that it was King Charles XII. who purchased it back again and presented it to the said university. We abstain, however, from offering any remark on this point, based as it is on so frail a foundation as 'hearsay.'

This

This codex, of which there are 188 pages of a quarto size, is written on very thin and smoothly-polished vellum, which is for the greater part of a purple colour. On this ground the letters, which are all *uncial*, i. e. capitals, were afterwards printed in silver, the initials, and some other passages excepted, which are in gold. To the latter belong the three first lines of the Gospels of St. Luke and St. Mark, which are impressed with *golden* foil, as were most probably those of St. Matthew and St. John. At the commencement of a section, or chapter, the whole is distinguished by golden characters, and so it is with the beginning of the Lord's Prayer, and the titles of the Evangelists, which are all illuminated in gold. From the deep impression of the strokes, the celebrated *Michaelis* has conjectured that the letters were either imprinted with a warm iron or cut with a graver, and afterwards coloured, a circumstance, which is said to have led to the discovery of those letters, the colour of which had faded. But it has been recently proved that each letter was painted, and not formed in the manner supposed by *Michaelis*. Most of the silver letters have become green in the course of time, whereas the golden ones are as yet in a superior state of preservation. This covering of the letters with gold and silver is a characteristic feature in some ancient and modern Asiatic writings, and in most of the Canticles, Missals, Breviaries, etc., of the Middle Ages. The adjective *argenteus*, therefore, as used in connection with the 'codex' in question, refers solely to this circumstance. Some parts of this codex, which is said to have amounted formerly in all to 320 pages, have a pale violet hue.

Some fragments of the Gothic version of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans, better known as the *Codex Carolinus*, which is preserved in the library of the Duke of Brunswick at Wolfenbüttel, were discovered in the year 1756 by *Francis Anton Knittel*, Archdeacon, etc., of this place, in a *Codex Rescriptus* belonging to the ducal library. This MS. contains the version of Ulphilas in one column, and a Latin translation in the other. It is likewise on vellum, and is supposed to belong to the sixth century. In the eighth and ninth century the *Origines Isidori Hispalensis* were produced in Spain, and written over the version of Ulphilas, after the vain attempts that had been made to expunge it. The consequence was, that the decyphering of it was accompanied by much labour, and almost insurmountable difficulties.

Written in the character of the *Codex Argenteus*, this codex is of less importance; and, as far as its outward appearance is concerned, by far not so beautiful and interesting as the former.

Knittel's edition, published under the following title:—*Ulphilæ versionem Gothicam nonnullorum capitum Epistolæ Pauli ad Romanos*,

Romanos, contains the subjoined few passages :—Rom. xi. 33-36 ; xii. 1-5, 17-21 ; xiii. 1-5 ; xiv. 9-20 ; xv. 3-13. These fragments are inserted at the end of vol. ii. of Lye's *Saxon, Gothic, and Latin Dictionary*.

Both these codices have been greatly improved by means of those considerable fragments, which was the result of an important discovery made among the Codices Rescripti in the 'Ambrosiana,' or Ambrosian Library at Milan, by Cardinal *Angelo Majo*, in the year 1817. While examining two Codices Rescripti, Majo discovered in one of them some Gothic writing, which, ere long, proved to be fragments of the Book of Kings, Ezra, and Nehemiah. Thus encouraged, he continued his inquiries, and had the satisfaction to find four other Codices Rescripti, containing in like manner portions of Ulphilas' Gothic version. Having communicated his discoveries to Count Carlo Ottavio Castiglioni, the latter joined Majo in his inquiries, so that we are indebted to both these savans for whatever we know concerning some considerable portions of this interesting production. Availing ourselves of the labours of these distinguished men, we shall notice a few of the MSS. they discovered.

The first of them consists of 204 quarto pages ; it is on vellum, and contains the Homilies of Gregory the Great on the Prophecies of Ezekiel, which, judging from their appearance or character, must have been produced about the eighth century. Beneath this are contained the Epistles of St. Paul to the Romans, 1 and 2 Corinthians, 1 and 2 of Timothy, Titus, and Philemon, as also a portion of the Gothic Calendar, all of which is written in a more ancient Gothic handwriting. The Epistles to the Romans, Corinthians, Ephesians, and to Timothy, constitute the main part of this interesting MS., and are almost entire. The titles of the Epistles are given at the heads of the pages on which they commence, and are pretty readable. Of the other Epistles, there are considerable fragments only. The whole seems to have been written by two different writers or copyists, as there exists a marked difference in the writing, the one being more finished and pleasing than the other. Some savans have traced various readings in some of the margins, which are said to be written in a very small hand.

The second manuscript consists of 156 quarto pages, on much thinner vellum. It contains St. Jerome's Exposition of Isaiah, written in Latin belonging to the eighth or ninth century. Under this Exposition may be seen the Gothic Version of St. Paul's Epistles to the Corinthians, Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, the two Epistles to the Thessalonians, and to Titus. What is wanting in the former MS. is found in this, which has some various readings peculiar to itself.

In

In the third manuscript, which is a Latin volume of a quarto size, are contained the plays of Plautus, and part of Seneca's Tragedies of *Medea* and *Œdipus*. In this volume Cardinal Majo discovered fragments of the Books of Kings, Ezra and Nehemiah. This discovery is of the utmost importance, as being among the few fragments of Ulphilas' Version of the Old Testament extant. This fact, moreover, furnishes a refutation of the assertion that Ulphilas designedly omitted the Books of Kings for the reasons already alluded to. The date of the Latin writing of this MS. is supposed to be the eighth or ninth century.

The fourth and last manuscript which we shall notice, consists of a single sheet in small quarto, and contains four pages of the Gospel according to St. John in Latin, under which are found the very fragments of chaps. xxv. xxvi. and xxvii. of the Gospel of St. Matthew, which are wanting in the *Codex Argenteus*.

All these manuscripts are written in broad and thin characters, without any division of words or of chapters, but with contractions of proper names, not unlike those we find in ancient Greek MSS. Some sections have been discovered which are indicated by numeral marks or larger spaces, and sometimes by large letters. The Gothic writing is said to belong to the sixth century.

Until of late two opinions have prevailed among the learned concerning the original language of the *Codex Argenteus*. The one opinion, namely, that it is written in the language and character used by the Goths of Mœsia during the fourth century, and is a true copy of the version made by Ulphilas, is maintained by Junius, Archbishop Benzelius, and other foreign writers. The other opinion, that it is a translation in the Frankish dialect, is defended by Michaelis, Wetstein, and others. Among the English writers who are of the former opinion, are David Wilkins, Mr. Coxe, etc. In this they are confirmed by a clever work of *Ihre*, from which it would appear that several specimens of the Ostro-Gothic tongue have been discovered in Italy, which perfectly resemble the character and language of the version contained in the *Codex Argenteus*. However this may be, one thing is quite clear, viz. that this MS. must be regarded as the most ancient specimen extant of the Teutonic or German language. Those who ascribe the version to Ulphilas, assign its date to the fourth century; whereas those who consider it to be a Frankish version, allow it to have been copied in the reign of Childeric, between 564 and 587. However, it has of late been proved, beyond a shadow of doubt, that the language of the *Codex Argenteus*, is the so-called Mœso-Gothic, an opinion in which we fully coincide.

The whole of Ulphilas' version as it now exists, comprises very large portions of the Gospels, the Epistles of St. Paul, the Books of Kings, Ezra, Nehemiah, the Maccabees, and some parts of the Psalms.

This naturally leads us to an inquiry into the various editions of this translation, which have been published since the latter end of the 17th century, up to the present day. Omitting, therefore, now and then the full title of an edition, we shall confine ourselves to those that are most valued, mentioning the editor's name wherever it is given, and noticing briefly at the same time their merits and demerits, as occasion may require.

1. By Franciscus Junius, Dortrecht, 1665, 2 vols. 4to., and Amsterdam, 1684. The full title of this work has already been given above. This is a very beautiful edition in Gothic and Anglo-Saxon in parallel columns, printed with Gothic characters; and is enriched with some excellent critical observations on the Gothic and Anglo-Saxon, by Dr. Thomas Marshall, late Dean of Gloucester, and with a glossary from the pen of Junius. It is a most correct and highly useful edition.
2. By G. Stiernhielm (the name of the editor is not mentioned in the title-page), Stockholm, 1671, 4to. This edition contains the Gothic text printed with Latin characters, and has by the side of it the Islandic and Swedish text, as also the Vulgate. Abounding in errors, it is not of much use.
3. By Edward Lye, Oxford, 1756, small folio. With a literal Latin translation and numerous annotations by Eric Benzeliuſ, Archbishop of Upsala, and the editor, who has furnished it, moreover, with a Gothic grammar. This is altogether a splendid and most correctly printed edition. Those who have had occasion to compare it with the original codex, regard it as a most finished work. But it unfortunately belongs to those works that are extremely rare. It is the production of the Clarendon press.
(Benzeliuſ's edition appeared at first under the following title. *Sacrorum Evangeliorum Versio Gothica ex Codice Argenteo emendata atque suppleta, cum Interpretatione Latina et Annotationibus, etc.* Oxon, 1750, 4to.)
4. The Fragments of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans, according to the *Codex Carolinus*. Edited by F. A. Knittel, Brunswick, 1761, large 4to. It contains the Gothic text, printed in Ulfila's own characters which were cast for that purpose, together with Knittel's readings and translation, having by the side of it an ancient Latin version as is given in the codex. Below it is the Vulgate, and under this the Greek text. There is, moreover, a full critical commentary, the whole of which has been carefully revised by Johann Ihre. It is decidedly a magnificent edition, and displays great skill and diligence in the management of this truly difficult subject.

5. By

5. By Johann Ihre, Upsala, 1763. This is a much more correct and by far superior edition of the text discovered by *Knittel*, printed with Latin characters, and contains a Latin translation made by the editor. It is invaluable on account of *Ihre's* emendations and annotations. These 'Fragments' have been repeatedly reprinted, in consequence of which especial mention is due to the excellent edition of *A. F. Büsching*, Berlin, 1773, 4to.
6. By Johann Christian Zahn, the learned writer above referred to, who instituted an edition of both codices in large 4to., which was published at Weissenfels, 1805. It is from *Ihre's* text, and contains a literal Latin interlinear translation, a grammar and glossary by Fulda, and *Ihre's* Latin version by the side of the text. It is, moreover, enriched with a critical review, explanatory notes, and an historico-critical introduction from the pen of the editor.
7. *Ulphilæ partium ineditarum in Ambrosianis Palimpsestis ab Angelo Majo repertarum specimen conjunctis curis ejusdem Maji et C. Oct. Castilionæi editum.* Mediolani, 1819.
Ulphilæ, etc., Epist. d. Pauli ad Corinth. sec.—ed. C. O. Castilionæus. Ibid. 1829.
 ———— *Epist. d. Pauli ad Romanos, ad Corinthios primæ, ad Ephesios quæ supersunt.* Ibid. 1834.
 ———— *ad Galatas, ad Philippenses, ad Colossenses, ad Thessalonicens primæ quæ supersunt.* Ibid. 1835.
 ———— *ad Thessal. sec., ad Timotheum, ad Titum, ad Philemonem quæ supersunt.* Ibid. 1839.

Much praise is due to both these editors for the masterly manner in which these fragments have been given to the public. The admirer of *Ulphilas'* labours will have every reason to be gratified with their performance. In this edition the Gothic text is exhibited on the left hand page, and on the right hand page the editors have given a literal Latin translation of it, together with the Greek original, etc.

However, the latest and most finished critical edition, which surpasses all the others in point of profound learning, accuracy, and scholar-like treatment, is that of

8. H. C. von Gabelentz and Dr. J. Loebe, the full title of which admirable publication is given at the head of this article. It consists of two large volumes in quarto, and contains a Latin version, a Gothic grammar and dictionary, critical annotations, etc. The editors have decided for the Roman type, as being more suitable for a typographical presentation of the original text. Concerning the particulars of this splendid production, we must refer the reader to the work itself, which is every way worthy of the repute of the great Gothic bishop.

We have devoted so much space to the main literary performance of Bishop *Ulphilas*, that we have barely room to state that there

there is another work from his pen ; at least it is ascribed to him. This is an Exposition of the Gospel according to St. John, and is entitled 'Skeireins Aivaggeljons thairh Johannen.' In its present state this remarkable work is a mere fragment, which was brought to light a short time ago by H. F. Massmann, who discovered it among some manuscripts belonging to the libraries of Rome and Milan. This savant has published it with a Latin version of it, together with explanatory notes, an historical inquiry, a Gothic-Latin Dictionary, etc. What proves this work to be from the pen of Ulphilas is its language and internal character. And since it is well known that he has written various works and treatises in the Gothic language, we see little or no reason for doubting his being the author of this interesting production.

PASCAL'S 'THOUGHTS;'

THEIR HISTORICAL IMPORT, ESPECIALLY IN RELATION TO THE
PHILOSOPHY OF RELIGION.*

A LECTURE, by DR. AUG. NEANDER.

Translated from the German by the Rev. J. TULLOCH.

THERE are men who, if they bear, as they could scarcely fail to do, the peculiar stamp of their own age, and especially belong to it, yet also claim to be regarded, apart from their age, as representatives of universal and imperishable truths of humanity, ever reproducing themselves in new forms—as those who have compassed the solution of the great problems of the human mind, which belong to all ages, and to which we are ever led back from all other inquiries. Such a man is Pascal, as he is brought before us in his *Pensées*, the fragments of a great work which it was not reserved for him, in his brief lifetime, to complete. Several years ago a lecture was delivered in this assembly, on this great man, by the excellent Steffens ; but I cannot now follow out the discourse of that distinguished teacher, as the point of view from which I feel urged to contemplate Pascal is very different from that from which he set out. Attention, moreover, is forcibly

* This is one of two Lectures delivered on different occasions before the Royal Academy of Sciences at Berlin, and recently published in a pamphlet form by their respected author. We hope to give the other Lecture in an early Number.

directed

directed anew to the 'Thoughts' themselves, from the fact which forms so important a discovery of recent literary history, that their genuine form has only lately been ascertained. It is the great merit of M. Prosper Faugère to have published, for the first time, in the year 1844, these fragments in their original order, matter, and form, enriched by a great deal hitherto unknown, and purified from many foreign admixtures. The very boldness, and excess of genius, characteristic of their great author, had given rise, as he has pointed out, to numerous alterations in his expressions. In the various editions, up to that prepared by Condorcet, these alterations had proceeded from the most opposite schools. While some feared to offend the Jesuits or the Catholic Church generally, others took offence at what did not suit the narrowness of their own ascetic stand-point; and others, again, like Condorcet himself, at whatever sprung from the depth of the soul, and did not harmonize with their own contracted intellectualism. One of the first, indeed, who interested themselves in the publication of the 'Thoughts,' Pascal's own friend, Antoine Arnauld, one of the most important representatives of the Port-Royalist school, in order to show the necessity of proposed alterations in these fragments, lays down the principle so pernicious in regard to a genius, so entirely original both in matter and form, that it is better, by some small emendations, extending merely to the softening of an opinion, to anticipate cavils, than to be under the necessity of writing apologies. And while this recent discovery of their genuine form naturally calls for a new discussion of the true meaning of the 'Thoughts,' the same seems also demanded by the unjust judgments passed anew upon their author, from which his zealous editor anxiously defends him. Cousin, whose sentiments I only know from the quotations of M. Faugère, characterizes Pascal as an enemy of all philosophy; as one who, despairing of any *rational* inquiry after truth, cast himself into the arms of a blind, authoritative faith, and thus combined an *unlimited scepticism* with a *convulsive piety*. We, on the other hand, must regard Pascal as the great advocate of that evidence which is superior to all reasoning, and founded on immediate consciousness—as the representative of a stand-point equally elevated above the opposition of scepticism and dogmatism—as the opponent of rationalism and scholasticism for every age—as the philosopher who first assigned to the heart and feeling their proper place in our spiritual constitution, and in the apprehension of divine things; and by whom the strife between faith and science has been adjusted in a manner that will ever prove satisfactory. In this respect we would compare him with a great genius of our own time, in other respects very different from him—Schleiermacher.

If

If we contemplate, in the first instance, the historical train of circumstances in which this great man appeared, we see the seventeenth century in France moved by very important spiritual impulses. While the new spiritual creation which, in Germany, had gone forth from the Reformation, had become diverted from its original principle, and contracted into a different form of that very scholasticism, in opposition to which it had developed itself, its beneficial consequences had spread to the Catholic Church, in which there arose reformatory tendencies—some of which merely attached themselves to the system of the middle ages—while others, in direct opposition to that system, assumed a more free and inward direction, and thus in many points came in contact with the Reformation itself, though still always governed by a spirit hostile to it. From the one went forth all phenomena connected with Jesuitism, men such as Fénelon;—from the other, that great and liberal spiritual movement excited in France by Jansenius, bishop of Ypres, or, as we may say, with more justice, by his yet greater friend, the Abbot of St. Cyran. To this last movement Pascal allied himself, and the stimulus which he thus received, powerfully operated on the development of his inward life. The assertion of the power of immediate consciousness—of the great truth that the facts of the higher life are incapable of being produced by any mere external or intellectual demonstration—the more precise separation between the Divine and the Human—and the recognition of the right of free inquiry, and of doubt in the province of the latter, were all kindred with this movement. In this last relation, we ought also to mention the revived opinion of the uncertainty of all human knowledge, espoused by Montaigne, and the impulse given to free investigation by Des Cartes. These influences must have already led Pascal to investigate, more intimately, the limits of the various provinces of the human mind—to secure to science, to scepticism, and to a faith emanating from the depth of the soul, and consisting in resignation to the Divine, their respective rights. For these conflicting powers were then often confounded in a confusion of these provinces.

We must not, however, omit to mention one fact, which especially contributed to suggest to Pascal the plan of such a work as that of whose fragments we treat. Some time before the German Reformation the discrepancy between intellectual inquiry and religious tradition had been strongly excited in the South, by the unsatisfactoriness of the old scholasticism, and the newly-awakened classical culture. Secular education, repressed in an earlier period, arrayed itself in violent opposition to everything divine, which the heavenward-aspiring soul feels urged by an inherent necessity to pursue. This inimical worldly spirit,
aiming

aiming to rule alone, had indeed been restrained by the force of the religious principle which went forth from the German Reformation, and re-operated upon the Catholic Church; though the deep historical glance of a Melancthon, who, in his right comprehension of the Past and the Present, was enabled to foretell the Future, recognised what great revolution of mind would have broken out, had not the religious excitement kindled by Luther turned it into a different channel. He speaks, for example, in a letter to his friend Cameron, in the year 1529, of the '*longi graviores tumultus*' which would have arisen, '*nisi Lutherus exortus esset ac studio humanorum alio traxisset.*' And had the Reformation remained true to its principle, its effects, in this respect, would have been permanent. But this spirit of materialism and atheism, thus temporarily repressed by the new impulse given by the Reformation, continued to plant itself in the South, especially in France, where it was greatly promoted by the excesses of Jesuitism. Whoever therefore came much in contact, as Pascal did, in the earlier period of his life, with the educated, could not fail to be affected by these phenomena. The manner in which it was attempted, whether by the old, or by a new form of scholasticism, derived from the Cartesian Philosophy, to *demonstrate* to the unbelieving the truth of a so-called natural religion, could not satisfy his penetrating mind. He recognised the deficiency of the previous system of apologetics and philosophy of religion, and felt called to investigate more deeply the constitution of man's religious nature—the true original foundation of those convictions which involve his higher interests; and his striking union of the power of keen and perspicuous thinking, with the depth and fervour of the religious life, peculiarly qualified him for this duty. And thus, as in former times, when a one-sided, sophistical intellectualism threatened to destroy faith in that truth, without which the mind of man can find no repose amid the vicissitudes of his changeful life, God raised up men who clearly pointed out the seat of this faith, in an immediate consciousness, elevated above all scepticism—as a Socrates in conflict with the Sophists—so now Pascal appeared, one of the same prophetic race who are called to testify of the holiest in humanity.

We must, however, carefully distinguish betwixt the accidental form in which he expressed his views, which has nothing to do with our present purpose, and the eternal, invariable truth which revealed itself in his great mind; we refer to the Catholic submission to an arbitrary Church authority, and the special Jansenistic element which characterized him. For, although this Jansenistic principle contains a truth, to which the spiritual development of Pascal was much indebted, it also

involves a one-sidedness from which his mind did not remain free, and which exercised a hindering influence on the development of his views. We mark, on the one hand, as *true*, that subjective tendency—that reference to the immediate facts of the higher life in the soul, which has been noticed as his characteristic principle; and, on the other hand, as *erroneous*, the manner in which he has apprehended this, in connection with the Augustinian doctrine of grace and predestination—his notion of the divine as something deposited by a sudden operation on the soul, and his confusion of the due relation between the divine and the human, whereby the school to which he belonged was prevented from rightly understanding the religious life (which was yet so operative in Pascal's own case) as the great element of the moral improvement of the human race. But the fundamental principles of the 'Thoughts' are not at all essentially connected with these erroneous and distorting views, and, when freed from the accidental combination in which they have been thus placed by Pascal, only present themselves more pure, clear, and fruitful.

Pascal's genius was one which could speak in the form of culture of all times—and as the contrarieties of which we have spoken are the same which still agitate our own time, it is evident that his genius is fitted to speak, in our form of culture, important words for our instruction.

Those are especially distinguished in history, who have stood forth in opposition to all mutilation, and injury of human nature in its pure form, who, having realized in themselves the due development of its various fundamental powers, would secure to each its special right—who have been deeply penetrated with the conviction that *that* can only be truth which gives satisfaction to the whole man, which requires the negation of no part of his spiritual nature. To such men of the full truth and mental healthiness—the genuine *σωφροσύνη* of the spiritual life—Pascal belongs. As, in himself, he united a mathematically cultured, keen understanding, and free critical faculty, with the deep inward life of the soul, so he would have faith, demonstration, and scepticism equally enjoy their respective rights—a view which he has expressed in a striking manner in the following words, whose original form has been communicated to us for the first time by Faugère: 'We must,' he says, 'possess three qualities, those of the Pyrrhonist, of the Geometrician, and of the Christian humbling himself in faith. These unite with and attemper one another, so that we *doubt* where we should, we *maintain* where we should, and we *submit* where we should.' 'It is the last step of the reason,' he adds, 'to recognise that there is an endless multitude of things which transcend its powers; it is only weak when it

it has not attained this knowledge.'^b The characteristic of this great genius therefore is, that while, on the one hand, he is opposed to an arbitrary authority, and would rather leave questions unsolved than disappoint himself by unsatisfactory attempts to solve them; on the other hand, he bows, with reverence, before the power of a holy necessity, which is only the outward expression of the inward being; in other words, before those essential laws of which Sophocles, the prophet among poets, has said, in his incomparable words,^c that they have their birth in heaven—Jupiter being alone their father, no human nature having produced them, and nothing being capable of sinking them in oblivion—in which the deity is great and grows not old.

The ground-thought of Pascal is, that human nature, both in a theoretical and practical respect, is in a state of disunion, and fluctuates between opposite points, which, however, testify of a lost, and yet recoverable unity of being. These opposite points are, on the one hand, a certainty which will not be denied, and, on the other, a scepticism which has no limit; and from these, respectively, proceed one-sided tendencies of an opposite and conflicting nature, the one aiming to prove everything, and the other to draw everything into doubt. Pascal, however, in the very weakness of scientific demonstration, recognises the indisputable force of these fundamental truths, which are above all demonstration, and on which, in fact, consciousness rests. 'The weakness of our power of demonstration,' he says, 'is not to be gainsaid by any dogmatism, and we have an idea of the truth not to be effaced by any Pyrrhonism.'^d 'Nature supports the weak reason, and preserves it from sinking into endless doubt.'^e 'Nature confounds the Pyrrhonist, and reason the dogmatist.'^f From single expressions Pascal would sometimes appear to recognise no reaction, in the constitution of human nature, by the conviction of truth against doubt, and only to make use of scepticism in order to point out more clearly the indispensable acknowledgment of some external authority, into whose arms the impotent reason must cast itself. The statements which we have just quoted, however, clearly prove, on the contrary, that he appeals to a truth inseparable from the very nature of the soul, and equally transcending dogmatism and scepticism. And we must not forget, for his right comprehension, that we have only the fragments of his system, which,

^b II. 347.

^c *ὦν ἑλυμπε,*
Πατήρ μόνος, οὐδέ νιν θνατὰ
Φύσις ἀνέρων ἔτικτεν, οὐδὲ
Μῆν ποτε, κατακοιμάσει
Μέγας ἐν τούτοις θεός
Οὐδὲ γηράσκει.

^d II. 99.^e II. 108.^f II. 104.

expressed as they often are paradoxically, must be mutually compared to be understood in their true sense. Thus, in one place,^s he says, 'The principal arguments of the Pyrrhonists are, that, apart from faith and revelation, we have no certainty of the truth of first principles, except the immediate feeling of them within ourselves. But this natural feeling is no convincing proof of the truth of these principles, because, apart from faith, we possess no certainty whether man be created by a good God, or a wicked principle, or owe his existence to chance; and it therefore obviously depends upon the primary decision of these questions whether the principle implanted within us be true, or false, or uncertain.' Appeal is also made to the fact that, apart from faith, we have no assurance whether we are waking or sleeping; that in dreaming, the same conviction of reality is often present as in waking. 'And who knows,' it is added, 'whether that half of life in which we consider ourselves awake, is not a sleep slightly different from the other, from which we awaken when we suppose ourselves to go to sleep. It is worthy of notice, as we remark in passing, that the same comparison is here introduced by Pascal, which Plato, in the *Theætetus*, opposes to the saying of Protagoras, that truth is to any one just what appears to be so to him. Now the above remarks of Pascal might, perhaps, be understood as if it were his opinion that the certainty derived from immediate feeling may be, after all, mere illusion, and that it is only the assurance which we receive from revelation respecting our origin that can lead us to put more confidence in that inward voice, as we thereby recognise it to be the voice of God. And if this were the case, there would be no connecting point between the position of uncertainty in which man is by nature, and the position of certainty into which he is introduced by revelation; and despair alone, arising from the hopeless state of scepticism in which he finds himself, could drive him to submit to an authority which promises the solution of his torturing perplexities. There were thus only a subjective, and no objective point of union between human nature and Christianity.

But we must, in the first place, clearly distinguish the varying conceptions of faith, or rather the varying applications of the same fundamental conception, which occur in the passage quoted above. By faith Pascal here obviously understands not only faith in a supernatural revelation, but also faith in an immediate assurance of feeling, upon which the whole life rests. From this source he deduces the certainty of reality in a state of waking, in contradistinction to the phenomena of dreams. And in this immediate

feeling, by which the mind acquires certainty regarding first principles, Pascal certainly places no possibility of deception. He considers it, on the contrary, as it were the thread by which the inquirer is led out of the labyrinth of phenomena to the point which will enable him to find amid these contrarieties the unity of his being. He will only show that, if man choose to hold by mere fragmentary ideas of the truth, he will never get out of the contradiction of his being. It is only this something which points him beyond himself to his divine original. 'Acknowledge, proud man,' he says, 'what a paradox thou art to thyself. Humble thyself, impotent reason; be silent, weak nature; learn that man infinitely surpasses himself; listen to the voice of God.'^h Or, as the passage is shown, by his present editor, to have been originally expressed, 'Who will resolve this enigma? It truly transcends dogmatism and Pyrrhonism and all human philosophy. Man is more than man. Well may we concede to the Pyrrhonists that about which they have exclaimed so much, that truth is beyond our reach, that she abides not on the earth, but is the inmate of heaven; that she dwells in the bosom of God, and can only be known in so far as it pleases God to make her known.'

That Pascal recognises such an indisputable truth, which can be no delusion, is still more clearly apparent from these words:ⁱ 'We discern truth, not only by reasoning, but by feeling; and it is in this latter manner that we discern first principles; and in vain does reasoning, which has no share in their production, try to combat these principles. The Pyrrhonists, who make this their object, labour in vain. We know that we do not dream, however incapable we may be of proving so by any power of reasoning. This incapacity only demonstrates the weakness of our reasoning faculty, and not the incertitude of all our knowledge, as they pretend. Nay, the knowledge of first principles is as certain as any obtained by reasoning, and it is in fact upon these perceptions of the heart and natural feeling that reason must ultimately rest and base all its argument. . . . Principles are felt, propositions deduced; and both with certainty, but in different ways. And it is just as absurd for the reason to demand of the heart *proofs* of its first principles before assenting to them, as it would be for the heart to demand of the reason a *feeling* of all propositions which it demonstrates.' Thus clearly did Pascal distinguish between the provinces of *intuition* and of *reasoning*, giving to the certainty arising from each its proper weight. It is worthy of notice, that the *heart*^k is the conception which he employs to denote that centre of the inward life, that immediate source whence all beams of spi-

^h II. 104.ⁱ II. 108.^k The expression in the original is 'le sentiment,' ritual

ritual development emanate; whereas this conception is only wont to be employed in a moral and religious relation. Pascal, however, agrees in this with that prince of philosophers, Aristotle, though under a slight difference of terminology, which difference, indeed, is not without its significance. The latter draws a distinction between the reasoning faculty, whose product is science, and that higher faculty (*νοῦς*) which apprehends those first principles which precede all knowledge and form the ultimate basis of science.^m 'Science,' he says, in the first book of his great *Ethics*, ch. 24, 'concerns things which are demonstrable,'ⁿ but principles^o are ἀναπόδεικτοι. Science, therefore, relates not to ἀρχαί, but presupposes them. In the same manner he says that the λόγος presupposes the ὑπὲρ λόγον. There is, therefore, only this difference between these two great men—that which Aristotle derives from an intuition of the soul, Pascal, agreeably to the ethico-religious point of view, which was ever uppermost with him, derives from an immediate feeling of the heart. Pascal considers it as an evidence of the weakness of the reason, that it cannot prove everything, but must ultimately confide in such an immediate feeling in order to discern the truth. Aristotle, again, would only see in this a proof that the reasoning faculty—the λόγος—is not the highest in man, but that he possesses a higher—the νοῦς. And this would, therefore, only be a further evidence of the dignity and superiority of man. But this view may also coincide very well with that of Pascal, which recognises in the tendency which will not allow man to give himself entirely up to scepticism, an effect of his original nobility, a finger-mark given to him to point him beyond himself, as he is indeed above himself.

The mediating point between nature and revelation is therefore by no means wanting in Pascal's system. Already, in the very endeavour of man, is communicated the reality of the aim sought,—Endeavour after God—after the truth, testifies of that very thing which is desired. 'Disquiet not thyself,' says Pascal; 'thou wouldst not seek me if thou didst not already possess me.'^p

We have remarked that Pascal derives intuitive certainty from the heart. This is in conformity with his characteristic point of view, according to which he subordinates, not the practical to the theoretical, but the theoretical to the practical, in regard to man's highest interests; not the will to the intellect, but the intellect to the will, which he regards as the great lever of human progress. And it is singular that in the same epoch in which the great assertor of the right of the 'Cogito' appeared, one still greater should have appeared, to claim for the 'Volo' its rightful place in

^m *Ethic. His.* vii. 8.^o Ἀρχαί.ⁿ Ἡ ἐπιστήμη τῶν μετὰ ἀποδείξεως ὄντων ἐστίν.

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our spiritual constitution. And we may truly say that upon the precise relation of these two powers to one another depends the decision of the weightiest questions which still engage human inquiry. As Pascal has made the will the great lever of human progress in relation to the highest truths, we would class him, not as his present editor does, with the more intellectual Plato, but rather, in this respect, with Aristotle, who also recognised the power of the *προαίρεσις* over man's intellectual development. Pascal draws attention to the manner in which the views and judgments of men are unconsciously determined by their inclinations, and thus depend upon the bias of the will—the ethical power—and he especially unfolds the dependence of all perception of divine revelation upon the relation of the individual will to the same. He everywhere beholds the revelation of a God, who yet conceals Himself; ^q revealing Himself to those who seek Him, concealing Himself from those who do not seek Him. All depends upon the relation of the will to the divine. This is a condition which attaches to every species of revelation. Man finds God in nature, when he possesses Him already; nature does not speak to him of God when he has no inward revelation of Him. That mixture of light and darkness, of what excites to faith and what stimulates to doubt, is all just designed to lead man to God, through the channel of his will. It is thus impossible to demonstrate religious truths. These are views which Pascal often repeats in various applications. From his Jansenistic stand-point, it is true, he would further imply that this combined revelation and concealment of Himself, on the part of God, is intended to lead to Him the elect, and to lead away from Him those who are not so; but here we recognise what we have already taken notice of, the corrupting mixture of his Jansenistic ideas, which, however, as we have said, have no essential connection with his fundamental views. It is only his one great principle, apart from all union with these Jansenistic doctrines, that we hold by, viz., that all conviction of religious truth, all finding of God, whatever mode of his revelation be in question, depends upon the bias of the disposition. Intimately connected with this view is his often quoted statement,^r that the knowledge of divine and human things stand in inverse relation to one another; that we must know human things in order to love them; but we must love divine things in order to know them—that we can only attain to truth through love. The worldly spirit must become purified from its worldliness by love before it can recognise with kindred sense divine things; a statement which corresponds with that lofty one of Plato in the *Phædo*, supposed to have been bor-

^q II. 117.^r L. 156.

rowed from the Mysteries, that to the impure it is not permitted to comprehend the pure. 'It is the heart,' says Pascal,^{*} 'which apprehends God, and not the reason;' by which he obviously understands the intellectual faculty, disjoined from association with the disposition; 'this only can be called faith—God perceptible by the heart and not by the reason.' He distinguishes three stand-points,[†] the *sensual*, the *intellectual*, or the province of the reason left to itself, and the *divine*. 'All the éclat of mere sensual grandeur has no lustre for those engaged in intellectual inquiries. These possess a greatness which the rich and powerful of the world cannot understand. But, above both, is that glorious wisdom which is alone to be found with God, which neither the sensual nor the merely intellectual can understand. The three provinces are quite distinct in their nature. There are those who can only admire sensual grandeur, as if there were no intellectual, and others, again, who can only admire intellectual grandeur, as if there were not an infinitely higher sublimity in divine wisdom. All bodies, the firmament, the stars, the earth, and its various kingdoms, are not worthy to be compared with the very least of the world of mind. For the mind knows them all, and itself. But all bodies, and minds combined, and all their productions, are not worth the least motion of divine love, which belongs to an infinitely higher order.' From these stand-points Pascal deduces the emptiness of a one-sided logical enthusiasm which puts the intellect in the place of the whole man. 'We make,' he says,[‡] 'an idol of the truth; for truth without love is not God, but only His image; and therefore an idol, which we must not love nor adore; and still less,' he adds, 'must we love or adore its opposite, falsehood.'

The principles of Pascal, as now unfolded, it is evident, by no means lead to a blind, authoritative faith, nor discover any hostility to science. They merely assign to the intellectual faculty in man its proper place. They point, when viewed in their essential meaning, and not merely in their accidental representation by Pascal, to a harmonious development of the whole man, which must proceed from the disposition apprehending the divine—from love. Man must be one in life and in science. Only thus can he ever gain the true stand-point to recognise God in His revelation both in nature and history. All points to the Highest; only man must possess the eyes to perceive these indications: as Pascal says in one of his letters:[§] 'The corporeal is only an image of the spiritual. God has exhibited the invisible in the visible. All things speak of God to those who know Him, and reveal Him to those who love Him.'

^{*} II. 172.[†] II. 331.[‡] I. 231.[§] I. 8.

CRITICAL EXAMINATION OF COLOSSIANS,

CHAP. ii. 12.

By the Rev. PETER MEARNS, Coldstream.

Συνταφέντες αὐτοὶ ἐν τῷ βαπτισματί· ἐν ᾧ καὶ συνηγέρθητε διὰ τῆς πίστεως τῆς ἐνεργείας τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ ἐγέλραντος αὐτὸν ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν.—Col. ii. 12.

THE epistle to the Colossians was written by the Apostle Paul, in consequence of information received by him from Epaphras, a distinguished Christian preacher, regarding certain false teachers who had crept into the church at Colossæ. We have no certain information respecting the precise opinions which were industriously propagated by these teachers, the Apostle's allusions being to us somewhat indefinite, though sufficiently distinct to the parties addressed. There seems to have been a systematic effort made to combine with Christianity the doctrines of the philosophical asceticism of the East;* by which combination it was asserted a deeper insight was obtained into the spiritual world than Christianity alone could give,—the doctrines of the gospel being too benevolent and simple for these inactive and visionary speculatists. The worship of angels, the consecration of holy days, and the observance of carnal ordinances, were other errors reprobated by the Apostle. Paul endeavoured to check the tendency to asceticism, and to correct opinions which were not less plausible than pernicious, by reminding the Colossians of the excellence and glory of Jesus Christ, who is the image of the invisible God, by whom all things were created, and in whom all fulness dwells. In opposition to the supposed necessity of something supplementary to the Christian system the Apostle remarks, 'Ye are complete in him, who is the head of all principality and power: in whom also ye are circumcised with the circumcision made without hands, in putting off the body of the sins of the flesh, by the circumcision of Christ: buried with him in baptism, wherein also ye are risen with him through the faith of the operation of God, who hath raised him from the dead.'

Such is the connection in which the verse stands which we have

quoted at the head of this article, and the points presented by this verse for examination are these:—

1. The analogy between the burial of Jesus Christ and the spiritual burial of Christians ;
2. The analogy between the resurrection of Jesus Christ and the spiritual resurrection of Christians ; and,
3. The connection of the ordinance of baptism with the spiritual burial and resurrection of Christians.

The Apostle here asserts that believers are buried with Christ in or by baptism—*συνταφέντες αὐτῷ ἐν τῷ βαπτίσματι*—Χριστός being understood from verse 8th, as is indicated by αὐτός, its representative here. *Συνταφέντες* (second aorist participle passive of *συνθάπτω*) literally signifies *having been buried with*, and here refers, we apprehend, to the just and instructive analogy between the burial of Christ and the spiritual burial of Christians, and not to the mode of Christian baptism, as we shall presently endeavour to show. The expression *ἐν τῷ βαπτίσματι*, *by baptism*, is here employed to signify the means ; that is, the Apostle asserts that by the ordinance of baptism the Colossian believers had given expression to the fact that they were united to Christ by faith, and consequently they might be said to be buried and risen with him. Such a use of the dative is of frequent occurrence. We have it in Matt. iii. 11, 'He shall baptize you *with the Holy Ghost and with fire*'—*ἐν Πνεύματι ἁγίῳ καὶ πυρί*.

The expression *ἐν ᾧ*, rendered *wherein* in the authorized version, may signify either *in which* or *in whom*, according as we refer it to *βάπτισμα* or *Χριστός* as its antecedent. Heinrichs, Macknight, and others, with the translators of the English Bible, make *βαπτισμα* the antecedent, but Erasmus, Vatablus, Grotius, Bengel, Rosenmüller, Stuart, and others, more correctly make it *Χριστός*. We reject, then, the version of the English translators, and render *with whom*.

Συνηγέρθητε is literally *ye have been raised with*, but the prefix *συν* has little, if any, force here, and taking *ἐν ᾧ καὶ* with the verb, we render the whole clause, *in connection with whom also ye have been raised*. This is in accordance with the rule, that 'a preposition of similar import with the one before the verb, is put before the noun.'^b We have an instance of this in the phrase *ἀναβλέψας εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν* (Matt. xiv. 19, and Mark vi. 41), where the prefix *ἀνα* is unnecessary, as the verb is followed by *εἰς*.

The resurrection of believers of which the Apostle here speaks is a spiritual resurrection. Hence he says that it is *διὰ τῆς πίστεως*, *through the instrumentality of faith*.

^b Stuart's *Syntax of the N. T. Dialect*, § 61, 9, Note 1 (b).

This faith the Apostle characterizes as τῆς ἐνεργείας τοῦ Θεοῦ, of the powerful working of God—that is, this faith receives its efficacy from the operation of God. Bengel's note here is good,—‘*Fides est (opus) operationis divinæ : et operatio divina est in fidelibus.*’ Ἐνεργεία is a stronger word than ἐργασία, and denotes *energy, active and efficient working*. It is rendered ‘effectual working’ in Eph. iii. 7, and iv. 16.

It is further stated in the verse before us, that he by whose agency faith is produced in the minds of believers is the same God who raised Christ from the dead—τοῦ ἐγείραντος αὐτὸν ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν. This clause simply asserts that the physical resurrection of Christ was the effect of divine power.

Such is a brief analysis of the words of this text as they stand in the original, and we shall now sum up the meaning in a short paraphrase. It is as if the Apostle had said, ‘I address you as being in reality what you have professed in submitting to the ordinance of baptism. Being united to Christ by faith, you are regarded as having been dead, buried, and risen with him; the same divine power by which Christ was raised from the grave has been exerted in effecting your union to Christ; and it has originated the principle by which your views, feelings, and actions are regulated.’

It is easy to see how the Apostle's statement, as thus understood, bears on his object in writing the epistle to the Colossians. As a person who is dead and buried has broken off all connection with the external world, so those who are dead and buried with Christ, it is here asserted, have thereby broken off all connection with ceremonial observances, to which observances, as we have already remarked, the Colossians had shown an attachment. Circumcision was no longer to be observed among them, the law of Christ was to be henceforth their only rule, and Christ was to be the sole master to whose service their lives were consecrated.

Such seems to us the true view of the passage under discussion, and this view is not without the support of able and learned commentators. It will be observed that we exclude all reference in this passage to the mode of baptism. It will also be seen that we make out an excellent sense without any such reference, and a sense, too, in harmony with the general bearing of the writer's argument and illustration. The position we have assumed, however, is opposed to views very confidently entertained and expressed by anti-pædobaptist writers, and concurred in by many commentators, whose views regarding the mode of baptism were unfavourable to the interpretation they give of this passage. It were wrong for us then quietly to assume this position without stating our reasons for it. In doing so we shall avoid the baptism controversy,

versy, and shall not even provoke discussion by stating what we conceive to be the meaning of the word βαπτίζω. Our sole object is to state and vindicate what appears to us the proper interpretation of a text, which, when properly understood, cannot serve the combatants on either side of this controversy.

1st. We remark that the view we adopt has other passages of Scripture to support and illustrate it, but no such passages can be produced in favour of the interpretation to which we object. Of his union with the Redeemer the Apostle Paul thus speaks; 'I am crucified with Christ, nevertheless I live; yet not I, but Christ liveth in me: and the life which I now live in the flesh I live by the faith of the Son of God who loved me, and gave himself for me' (Gal. ii. 20). Again, the same Apostle says, 'God, who is rich in mercy, for his great love wherewith he loved us, even when we were dead in sins, hath quickened us together with Christ; (by grace ye are saved;) and hath raised us up together and made us sit together in heavenly places in Christ Jesus' (Eph. ii. 4-6). These passages are but a specimen, and there are many others of similar import which might be cited if necessary. Indeed, this is with the Apostle a favourite mode of representing the union of Christ with believers. They are crucified, dead, buried, risen, and, in affection, ascended to heaven with Christ. Why, then, suppose a reference to the mode of baptism in this text, when the *usus loquendi* suggests to us so excellent an interpretation without any reference to the supposed mode in which this ordinance should be administered? Now, keeping out of view Romans vi. 3, which is exactly parallel with that under discussion, and to be interpreted precisely in the same way, no passage can be produced from the New Testament in which baptism is represented as a burial and resurrection.

But it may be asked, why does the Apostle in this text refer to baptism at all? We reply, that he addresses the Colossians as believers, and therefore in a state of union with Christ; and he refers to baptism for the purpose of intimating that they had themselves expressed that fact by receiving this ordinance; but the mode of administering the divinely appointed rite is not adverted to, and the language of this passage is equally applicable to the ordinance, whether we suppose it to have been administered by immersion or sprinkling.

2nd. Again, there is no just analogy between burial and baptism. The grave is the scene of destruction, loathsomeness, and putrefaction; but the water of baptism is emblematical of the life-giving and purifying influences of the Holy Spirit. It has been supposed that baptism is called a burial in order to intimate that the only proper mode of administering this Christian rite is by

by immersion. Against this supposition much use has been made of the fact that, by the Jewish mode of burial, the body was deposited on a shelf, in a cave or excavation made in a solid rock, and not lowered into a pit to be covered with earth as with us. Between such a burial and the submersion of the body in water the analogy seems very much forced. Now we know from Matt. xxvii. 60 that the burial of Christ, of which baptism is supposed to be an emblem, was of this sort. The most prominent idea, however, suggested by a figure drawn from the grave is that of *corruption*; and it would require very strong evidence to make us believe that an inspired Apostle would employ such a figure to describe the mode of administering an ordinance which is emblematical of *purification*. The incongruity is obvious when the supposed intention of the figure is present to the mind, and it is fitted to suggest almost any thought rather than the one intended. This is one reason why we are strongly of opinion that the Apostle employs no such figure.

3rd. Our interpretation preserves the uniformity of the passage, and carries us through the Apostle's argument; but the one against which we contend is defective in this respect. In close connection with our text, as well as in verse 20 of this chapter, the writer asserts that believers are *dead*, and *dead with Christ*. Now immersion is not drowning, and there is no necessary connection between immersion and death; but there is such a connection between death and burial. The rite of immersion, when judiciously administered, does not endanger the life, or even the health, of the individual; but the rites of burial are performed only when the person is dead. His burial in the grave implies his death.

There is another expression in the context, however, which receives no illustration from the mode of interpretation against which we are contending. It is this: 'If ye then be risen with Christ, seek those things which are above, where Christ sitteth on the right hand of God.' The union between Christ and believers admirably illustrates this injunction. In a passage already quoted the Apostle says that God hath raised us up together with Christ, and 'made us sit together in heavenly places in Christ Jesus.' That is, believers are crucified, dead, buried, and risen with Christ, and consequently their affections now have a natural tendency upwards to the place where he sits at the right hand of God. Their union with him is by faith, and he has ascended to heaven as their forerunner and advocate, to secure their presence hereafter in a mansion near his throne. No anti-pædobaptist writer whom we have consulted has ventured to extend the supposed figure of baptism to this point. Indeed there is obviously no
resemblance

resemblance between sitting with Christ in heaven and being dipped in water or taken out of it. Why, then, should we suppose the Apostle's illustration to be interrupted, not helped, by the introduction of a figurative allusion to the mode of baptism, when the subject of union to Christ, with which both pædobaptist and anti-pædobaptist writers must begin and end, carries us so admirably through the whole illustration?

Having thus endeavoured to explain the meaning of this text, we now state the following doctrines contained in it:—

1. That Jesus Christ was raised from the dead by the power of God.
2. That faith is necessary in order to our union with Christ and participation in the blessings he has purchased for us.
3. That the effectual operation of God is necessary in order that this faith may be produced.
4. That it is incumbent on those who possess this faith to profess it by receiving the ordinance of baptism.
5. That by faith in the crucified Redeemer the believer becomes dead to sin and carnal observances.
6. That by faith in the risen Redeemer he is raised to holiness and the active discharge of the duties of the Christian life.

Among the legitimate inferences deducible from this text we may mention the following:—

1st. We should call no man master on earth. Christ is our only master, and whatever in religion is not 'after Christ' cannot *command* our obedience. Christ is all to the Christian. We are buried and risen with him.

2nd. We ought to express our gratitude for the powerful operation of the Holy Spirit on our minds. If we have been raised to newness of life, we owe it to his powerful operation.

3rd. Our position as Christians demands that our lives be consecrated to the service of God.

ON 'INA AND THE FORMULA 'INA ΠΛΗΡΩΘΗ.

By the Rev. W. NIBLOCK, A.M.

IT is a matter of very considerable importance in Biblical exposition to settle the meaning of *ἵνα* and *ἵνα πληρωθῇ* as they are employed by the New Testament writers. Upon the way in which *ἵνα* and *ἵνα πληρωθῇ* are interpreted depends whether certain announcements made in the Old Testament, and which have been very generally in the Christian world regarded as predictions, are prophecies at all. Some expositors suppose that *ἵνα* has two significations, the one denoting design, end, or intention; and the other sequence, effect, accommodation, resemblance, or illustration—the one called the telic, and the other the ecclastic use of the word. In some places they think the term is employed without conveying any notion of design or intention whatever. There is another class of critics who think that *ἵνα* never signifies anything but design or intention; and while these critics acknowledge that the immediate agents employed in fulfilling the divine predictions may not act with any intention to accomplish them, yet God, they think, who superintends the volitions and actions of men, designed to fulfil his prophecies by means of their agency. These expositors, in the cases referred to, also think that the sacred writers (being accustomed to trace all events up to the Deity as the prime mover in everything) ascribe the intention which is wanting in man to the Divine Being, and that this design is expressed by the writers of the New Testament by the word *ἵνα*. In order to make out the ecclastic use of *ἵνα*, it must be satisfactorily proved that it is employed occasionally without conveying any notion of intention in any way whatever. It is I think manifest, if this cannot be established, that the ecclastic acceptance of *ἵνα* must be given up altogether. I am quite satisfied that both Tittmann and Stuart have signally failed in their attempts to prove that *ἵνα* has an ecclastic meaning—that the word has this meaning I am convinced has not yet been established by anybody. Reasoning *à priori*, one would be inclined to think, from the nature of language as a vehicle of thought, that words cannot have two meanings that have no connection with each other whatever; if this were the case, words would have no fixity of meaning at all. Words, as it appears to me, must have one primary and radical signification, and in all their secondary acceptations they must have a meaning analogous to their primary one. If this were not the

the case, language would be quite unsettled ; it could never be employed as anything like an adequate representation of the operations of the mind. But how the trilateral *iva* can at one time be used to denote design and intention, and then again be employed without any idea of design and intention, I confess I am not able to understand. I cannot discover in the laws of language and of thought why *iva* should have one meaning at one time and another directly different from it at another.

Πληρώθη is related to πλήρης, which is akin to our word 'full' and the Latin 'plenus' and the Greek πλέος ; it signifies to fulfil, to accomplish or complete, and the translation of *iva πληρώθη* which we have in the Authorized Version of the Bible I believe to be the true one. It does not appear to me that there is any difficulty whatever in understanding the formula *iva πληρώθη*, except what interpreters make for themselves ; and I am very much inclined to think that the ingenuity and learning that have been displayed, in some cases, in explaining this phrase have served no other purpose than to get rid of its obvious signification. Is there any difficulty in understanding this sentence?—George went to college that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by his mother respecting his future scholarship ; and when a New Testament writer says that a certain thing was done that a prophecy in the Old Testament might be fulfilled, is it not manifest that the event which he records was intended to fulfil the prediction ?

Let us now examine a few passages of Scripture with a view to ascertain whether the word *iva* is used in a telic or in an ecclastic sense. In Matt. i. 18—22 we have a citation from Isa. vii. 14 respecting the conception and birth of our Lord Jesus Christ ; and in the 22nd verse we are told that everything regarding the incarnation of the Saviour was done *iva πληρώθη*, that it might be fulfilled which was spoken of the Lord by the prophet, saying, a virgin shall be with child, and shall bring forth a son. Now the question is, whether in this place *iva* must be understood in a telic or in an ecclastic sense ; if it be interpreted ecclastically, then it follows that Isa. vii. 14 can have no reference to Christ at all. The evangelist must simply be regarded as saying that the conception and birth of the Saviour bore a striking resemblance to one of a similar nature recorded by Isaiah. The words of the prophet run thus : ' Behold a virgin shall conceive and bear a son.' This language cannot be made to apply to the prophet's wife, or to a young woman to whom the prophet was shortly to be married,

because the *מִלְכָּה* mentioned by the prophet was to conceive and bring forth in her virgin state. The words of Isaiah, I am humbly of opinion, must be regarded as referring exclusively to the virgin mother

mother of our Lord and Redeemer Jesus Christ, and the particle *ἵνα* must be understood in its telic application. It is asked how could the birth of a child, that was to be born 740 years after the time of Ahaz, be a sign to him that the empire would not be dismembered at this time by the two kings that were combined against it, and given to the son of Tabeal (see Isa. vii. 6). It ought perhaps to be a satisfactory answer that the evangelist Matthew applies the prophet's words to the conception and parturition of the Saviour, and that Isaiah himself calls the very same event a sign. But in addition to this, it may be observed that the sign was not exclusively intended for Ahaz; it was also designed for the house of David, or for the whole population, or perhaps especially for the pious part of them. The king had wickedly refused asking a sign when it was offered by the prophet. To quiet the minds of the pious people of the kingdom of Judah the prophet reminds them that the sceptre should not depart from Judah until Shiloh come; that the Messiah was to descend from the tribe of Judah, and that their civil polity would be continued until the birth of the Saviour. The pious portion of the people would of course credit the prophet, and would feel assured that the kings who were confederated against them would not succeed in dismembering their kingdom and giving it to the son of Tabeal (see Isa. vii. 6). In the passage in Matthew above referred to, *ἵνα πληρωθῇ* must be understood as denoting that the conception and birth of the Saviour was intended to fulfil the prophecy of Isaiah (vii. 14). The telic use of *ἵνα* however does not make the Evangelist say that the sole design of the conception and parturition of Christ was intended to fulfil the prophecy, but the fulfilment of the prophecy was one design of his incarnation.

Matt. ii. 15 is another place that has been adduced to prove that *ἵνα* must be translated so that; it is a citation from Hos. xi. 1, where the prophet says, 'When Israel was a child then I loved him, and called my son out of Egypt.' The Evangelist Matthew says in reference to this citation, that Joseph went into Egypt with Christ, and remained there till the death of Herod, *ἵνα πληρωθῇ τὸ ρηθὲν*, that it might be fulfilled which was spoken of the Lord by the prophet saying, out of Egypt have I called my son. Now the question is, how must *ἵνα* be understood in Matt. ii. 15? whether must it have an ecclastic or a telic signification? Tittmann, in commenting on this portion of sacred writ, says, the words of the prophet are not the object of my present consideration, nor shall I now inquire whether they were originally used in reference to Jesus or the Jewish people, for it is quite certain that the end proposed by Joseph, and to be accomplished by staying in Egypt, was not the fulfilment of the prophecy.' In this rather

positive and summary manner he seems to think that he has settled the whole difficulty, and proved beyond dispute that the calling of Christ out of Egypt was not intended to fulfil the prophecy in Hosea above cited. Now it is readily conceded that it may not have been the intention of Joseph to fulfil the prophecy in Hos. xi. 1 by his remaining with Christ in Egypt till the death of Herod, and by his return after that event; but this is no evidence that Joseph's residence in Egypt and return from it was not intended by God to fulfil the prediction of the prophet. It must be admitted that several prophecies respecting the Messiah have been unintentionally fulfilled as far as the immediate actors were concerned; but this is no proof that God did not design by their instrumentality to accomplish the predictions. There is nothing in the language of Hosea cited above that I can see that prevents us from applying it to the Messiah. I am quite surprised at the dictatorial and dogmatical manner of some critics in deciding so peremptorily that the term Israel in Hos. xi. 1 must be applied to the Jewish people and to them only. I am not aware that their arguments are so conclusive, or that their logical deductions are so convincing as to warrant so much positiveness. The term Israel, as Lowth observes, in its original and full import, can only belong to him who contended powerfully with God on behalf of mankind and prevailed (Gen. xxxii. 28). The name David is not unfrequently given to Christ, and for my part I cannot see any good reason why the name Israel may not be given to him in Hos. xi. 1. In Isa. xlix. 3, I am quite satisfied that the Messiah is designated by the name Israel. The language of the prophet runs thus:—'Thou art my servant O Israel in whom I will be glorified.' The Israel mentioned here in the subsequent part of the chapter is described as a light to the Gentiles, and as being for salvation to the ends of the earth; kings and princes are represented as honouring him, and as bowing down before him. I am not ignorant that the term Israel in this passage has been applied to the Jewish people, to the prophet Isaiah, and also to the collective body of the prophets, still I think it has not yet been proved that the epithets given to Israel throughout the chapter can be fairly and truly understood of any except our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. If these observations be correct, Hosea xi. 1 must be regarded as a prophecy respecting the Messiah; and the term *Ἰσ* in Matt. ii. 15 must have a telic signification, and the Evangelist's meaning must be that Christ's residence in Egypt and return from it were intended by Jehovah to fulfil the prophecy in question.

Matt. iv. 13 is also one of those places where some critics think that *Ἰσ* παρεῖδη must be translated *so that it might be fulfilled*.

fulfilled. Tittmann says of this passage 'that it is not true that Christ came and dwelt in Capernaum that what Isa. ix. 1 had said might be accomplished;' and he therefore concludes that *ἵνα* in this place does not signify design or purpose. Suppose it were proved that Christ did not come and dwell in Capernaum with an intention to fulfil the prophecy in question, it would not be evidence that his residence there was not designed to fulfil it.

The sacred writer neither affirms nor denies that Christ came and dwelt in Capernaum with a design to fulfil the prophecy, but simply says that his residence there was intended to accomplish it. God designed the Messiah's residence in Capernaum to fulfil what the Holy Spirit spake by the mouth of the prophet Isaiah. In this place also it appears to me that *ἵνα* must have a telic meaning, and that the Saviour's residence at Capernaum must have been designed to fulfil the prophecy in Isaiah cited above. I have no sympathy whatever with Tittmann in his concluding observations on this and some other portions of Scripture, when he says, 'Uniformly the design is to declare the agreement between the event and the declarations of the Jewish scriptures.'

In Matthew xxvii. 35 it is said that the soldiers parted Christ's garments among them, casting lots, *ἵνα πληρώθῃ*, that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophet, 'they parted my garments among them, and on my vesture did they cast lots' (Ps. xxii. 18). In this case *ἵνα* must be taken in its telic sense as denoting design and intention; but the design is ascribed to God and not to the soldiers. In the same way must John xix. 36, 37 be understood, and also Matt. xxi. 4 and xxvi. 51—56; Matt. ii. 15—17. In these several instances *ἵνα* is employed in a telic acceptation, but the design is not predicated of the immediate actors but of God, who directs all the apparent contingencies of time to the accomplishment of his own designs and purposes.

I shall on this occasion only trouble you with the explanation of one passage more, where Tittmann thinks *ἵνα* must be understood ecabatically, and Professor Stuart, Tittmann's translator, says this example, as the reader will see if he consult the original, affords one of the most indubitable cases where *ἵνα* must have the sense of *so that*: the passage referred to is John xv. 16. It reads thus: 'ye have not chosen me, but I have chosen you and ordained you (*ἔθηκα ὑμᾶς*), appointed or set you apart with this intention *ἵνα ὑμεῖς ὑπάγητε*, that you should go forth and bring forth fruit, and that your fruit might remain or continue, and also I have appointed you to your office with this intention, *ἵνα ὅ,τι ἂν αἰτήσητε*, that whatsoever ye shall ask the Father in my name he may give it you.' In this portion of Scripture *ἵνα* must be understood telically, notwithstanding the confidence of Mr. Stuart.

CORRESPONDENCE.

NEW TESTAMENT LIFE.

By the Rev. WILLIAM MILLIGAN, M.A.

IN common, no doubt with many of your readers, I could not but be much interested by the remarks of the Rev. F. Jacox, in the second Number of your Journal, in reference to the use of the word ζωή, 'life,' in the New Testament. I have waited long in the hope that the invitation there given to further inquiry would be accepted by some other than myself. Nothing further, however, has appeared. It is possible that what I am now to say may not be considered as adding much to what has been said already ; but as the subject is one of extreme importance, and is most closely connected with the true meaning and purpose of the Revelation in Christ Jesus, your readers may not despise any attempt to cast light upon it.

That the absence of almost any specific allusion to death as an event yet standing before the Christian is a remarkable feature in the New Testament, it is impossible not to feel, and it is the more remarkable when we consider that the allusions to it are so numerous in the Old Testament. The explanation given by your correspondent that the apostles could only think of the Life which they had received in the Lord Jesus is unquestionably true. At the same time there are one or two considerations which may help to place this explanation in a clearer light, and these it may be worth while to consider for a little.

I. It is obvious, even on the most cursory reading of the New Testament, that ζωή, 'life,' when predicated of man, is always opposed to θάνατος, 'death.' Before he receives the former he is described as having been under the dominion of the latter (Eph. ii. 1 ; 1 John iii. 14, &c.). God alone possesses in Himself eternal life (Rev. i. 8 ; 1 Tim. vi. 16). It is true that a state of *death* necessarily presupposes one of *life*, and that the sacred writers, and more especially Paul, continually represent this θάνατος, whatever we understand by it, as a state very different from that in which man was first created ; but the ζωή which he now enjoys, when interested in the salvation of Christ, is given him subsequently to his having existed in this state of θάνατος, and is placed by them in contrast with it.

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When, accordingly, man comes into the possession of this ζῶν, death is regarded by them as *already past*, and there are two different points of view from which they look to the matter in this light.

(1.) The first of these arises from the nature of those ideas which they connected with the expressions θάνατος, νεκρὸς εἶναι, and of that relation in which man stands to the state expressed by them.

When we attend to the use of these words in the New Testament, we find that, so far from being generally employed to denote simply that state in which a man is after he has ceased to breathe, they are connected most prominently at least with ideas of another kind altogether, not, as we shall afterwards see, that the idea of physical death is excluded, but that it is viewed as one feature only of that condition to which they refer. This is peculiarly to be marked in all the writings of the apostles John and Paul, where θάνατος is almost constantly employed to express that state of alienation from God, of mental darkness and of moral depravity in which man is found before he is interested in Christ Jesus. Thus we find it used to express the same idea as σκότος (comp. 1 John ii. 9 with iii. 14); and this σκότος is not merely viewed negatively, as expressing the absence of light, but also positively, as being the very contrary of light, and of that God, whose distinguishing characteristic it is that He is light, 1 John v. 7, and ii. 8; (comp. also Romans xiii. 12, τὰ ἔργα τοῦ σκότους, which are evidently equivalent to the καὶμοι, μέθαι, κ. τ. λ., in verse 13, and Eph. iv. 18, ἐσκοτισμένοι τῇ διανοίᾳ ὄντες, ἀπηλλοτριωμένοι τῆς ζωῆς τοῦ θεοῦ). Thus, also, in the Gospel of John i. 4, we have our Lord described as the Light and the Life of men, and thus implying that, before He appeared, the world was not only in darkness but in death. Again, in the Epistles of Paul we find the same use of the words θάνατος and νεκρὸς (Eph. ii. 1; Col. ii. 13; Romans vii. 24; 2 Cor. ii. 16; vii. 10), in which passages the leading idea of the word is unquestionably the sinful state of man. In the same manner we find our Lord using the word νεκρὸς in Matt. viii. 22, and in Luke xv. 24, we have νεκρὸς and ἀπολωλὼς as interchangeable terms (for the full meaning of ἀπόλλυμι comp. Matt. x. 28-39; xviii. 11; Romans ii. 12; 1 Cor. viii. 11; 2 Cor. ii. 15, &c.). It might indeed be a question whether in such passages as those that have been referred to, the idea of temporal death is implied in θάνατος at all, and whether it is not simply expressive of that state of corruption and of consequent exposure to the wrath of God, which constitutes the natural condition of mankind. There are, however, several passages which clearly show that this idea is also included under the term. Thus, in Romans v. 12,

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the whole course of the apostle's argument is lost if we do not understand by *θάνατος* mainly physical death, for he appeals there to something outward and visible (verse 14) as a proof that something inward and invisible had existed at the period to which he refers. So also in 1 Cor. xv. 21, we must understand *θάνατος* as having a primary reference to temporal death. The apostle had been speaking of the resurrection of Christ, and pointing to it as the earnest of the resurrection of his followers, and then having his attention directed to the same thought as that which he introduces at Romans v. 12, he proceeds to show the nature of that parallelism which might be drawn between Christ and Adam. When, therefore, he connects the resurrection of man with the actual rising of the former from the grave, it is evident that he must connect with the latter, whom he views as the introducer of the very opposite of that which Christ had brought in, man's returning to the dust. Again, in such passages as John iv. 14; vi. 50; viii. 51; xi. 25, 26; xvii. 3, the force of the *ζωὴ αἰώνιος* depends much upon the fact of physical death being included in the *θάνατος*. If, as has been maintained by some,^a *θάνατος* is only understood in the Gospel of John in a spiritual sense, what would be the meaning of such expressions as *καὶ ἀποθάνῃ*, and *οὐ μὴ ἀποθάνῃ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα*? According to such a view death could not be spoken of as something future, and which might be avoided, for all *are already dead*, and whatever therefore be the precise meaning which we give to these expressions, we are necessitated to suppose that at least they include a victory not only over spiritual, but also over temporal death.

In order, however, to understand fully what is meant by *θάνατος*, we must mark the connection in which it stands with sin.

The history of the fall of man, as given in the beginning of Genesis, is decisive upon this point, for the whole tenor of the first three chapters leads us unfailingly to the conclusion that death is the consequence and punishment of sin: 'In the day that thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die,' Gen. ii. 17, *מֵת תָּמֹת*, (it is needless to produce instances, which are everywhere to be met with in the Old Testament, of the verb *מֵת* being used to express temporal death): and again, 'Because thou hast hearkened to the voice of thy wife, and hast eaten of the tree of which I commanded thee, saying, Thou shalt not eat of it: cursed is the ground for thy sake, in sorrow shalt thou eat of it all the days of thy life; thorns also and thistles shall it bring forth to thee; and thou shalt eat the herb of the field: in the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread, and unto dust shalt thou return' (iii. 17-20).^b This

^a Frommann, *Der Johanneische Lehrbegriff*, pp. 280-308.

^b In contrasting these passages, the only question might be, whether in the expression

This connection, then, which we find also alluded to in various other passages of the Old Testament (Ps. xc. 5-12 ; Prov. ii. 18 ; ix. 18 ; xii. 28), is again brought forward by Paul in Rom. v. 12, &c. We have already seen that the idea of temporal death is included under the meaning of θάνατος, and the passage at once points out the connection between the ἁμαρτία and it. διὰ τῆς ἁμαρτίας ὁ θάνατος ; and again (ver. 15), τῷ τοῦ ἐνὸς παραπτώματι οἱ πολλοὶ ἀπέθανον (so also 1 Cor. xv. 22, ἐν τῷ Ἀδάμ πάντες ἀποβήσκουσιν), passages in which we are distinctly taught to feel that all the evil, both moral and physical, which we experience, is the consequence of sin ; so also Rom. vi. 23, 21.

The closeness of this connection is also indicated to us by such expressions as those which we find in Rom. viii. 2, ὁ νόμος τῆς ἁμαρτίας καὶ τοῦ θανάτου ; Rom. viii. 6, τὸ γὰρ φρόνημα τῆς σαρκὸς θάνατος ; in both of which, though the idea of moral death may be the prominent one, that of physical death is certainly to be included, while in Rom. viii. 10, by τὸ μὲν σῶμα νεκρὸν δι' ἁμαρτίαν, the following verses require us especially to understand that mortality of the body, in the prospect of which our only effectual consolation is, that if the spirit of Him who raised Jesus our Lord from the dead dwell in us, then he who has raised Christ from the dead will also quicken our mortal bodies.

It has been made a question whether by θάνατος, as thus connected with sin, we are to understand simple dissolution or death apprehended by the conscience as the punishment of sin, looked to therefore with alarm, and armed with a κέντρον. Many of the most eminent scholars on the continent seem to adopt the latter view, while they thus avoid all the difficulties connected with those geological discoveries which show us that death was in the world before man was created, or those physiological investigations which seem to prove that, as in the case of all other natural objects, his is a necessary progress of growth and of decay, and that, independent of every moral cause, he would have returned to the dust. Such a refined distinction, however, appears foreign to the whole teaching of the Scriptures ; and it is deducing too much from the statement in 1 Cor. xv. 56, τὸ δὲ κέντρον τοῦ θανάτου ἡ ἁμαρτία,

pression חַיָּהּ חַיָּהּ there is any allusion to death in its moral and spiritual aspect. We ought perhaps to say that, by the very act of sin, death in this form had already entered, and that therefore the threatening would rather relate to it in its other aspects. At the same time how natural was it that, in looking back upon what had taken place, that idea should come to be included in it. As amidst toil and weariness the ground was cultivated, as the food earned in the sweat of the brow was eaten in sorrow, as all the ills of life were experienced, and *all was felt to be the consequence of sin*, how natural would it be to speak of the whole as death ; and as man felt the *moral evils* of his condition, as well as the physical, and contrasted his state with that when his first parents 'thought no ill,' could he fail to see in this part of the threatened punishment, 'Thou shalt die.'

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when we infer that, had there been no *ἁμαρτία*, there would have been indeed no *κέντρον τοῦ θανάτου*, but still there would have been *θάνατος* itself. The truth seems to be that it is proper to apply to this question the same great principle which applies to many other statements in Scripture, that on such points it was not the intention of the Almighty to give us any positive information, and that all which he designs infallibly to reveal is truth connected with man's religious condition and feelings. If this be allowed, we shall then be naturally led to assume that with the question whether man would have died, though he had not fallen into sin, the sacred writers do not interfere. They re-assert, indeed, what in the very words of threatening had been asserted by the Almighty, '*dust thou art, and unto dust shalt thou return*,' that man is *ἐκ γῆς χοϊκός* (1 Cor. xv. 47), that is, that he has such a body, that he *may* die; but they nowhere speak of the question whether he would have died, *with a merely physiological reference*. On the contrary, they lead us simply to believe that had he not sinned he would not have died; but whether this immortality—an immortality which does not belong by nature to the *σῶμα χοϊκόν*—would have been obtained by eating of the tree of life, as Gen. iii. 22 would seem to indicate, or by some direct interposition of the Almighty, or by his receiving at once in some period of his days, and without passing through the gate of death, that *σῶμα πνευματικόν*, which alone can possess eternal life (1 Cor. xv. 46, 48), they nowhere tell us. Such a supposition, therefore, as that to which we have referred is by no means needed for the sake of resolving a difficulty, for in truth there is no difficulty to be resolved. Man might have died, or he might not have died, if he had remained in his original purity, would the apostles say, with that we have nothing to do: this only we know, that it was because of sin that he did die.

But further, on the question as to the meaning of *θάνατος*, 1 Cor. xv. 22 seems to be decisive; for as the latter clause of that verse, 'in Christ shall all be made alive,' has especial reference to the resurrection of the Lord,^c we are necessitated by the contrast to understand by the first clause, 'in Adam all die,' that through him they are subject to temporal death, viewed not only as armed with a sting, but as simple dissolution. Again, that simply physical death, as well as death felt to be a punishment, is represented as the consequence of sin will be still further evident if we adopt the rendering of Rom. v. 13, *ἁμαρτία δὲ οὐκ ἐλλογεῖται μὴ ὄντος νόμου*, suggested, according to Usteri,^d by Rückert, and followed

^c Not as if this were all its meaning, but it evidently includes this first of all, and it is enough for our present purpose to notice this alone. So also with the *ἀποθρήσκουσι*.

^d Usteri *Paulinischer Lehrbegriff*, p. 42.

by the former writer ; ‘ but sin is not reckoned, not *imputed by man to himself*, where there is no law,’ for in this case the Apostle maintains (ver. 14) that even at the very time when this was the case, ὁ θάνατος ἐβασίλευσεν. That in 1 Cor. xv. 56 he should burst out into the triumphant exclamation, ποῦ σου, θάνατε, τὸ κέντρον ? does not infer that without the κέντρον death would have been viewed only as a step in nature’s progress, and therefore without being felt to be an evil, but only *that now*, when he has been enabled to view it from a Christian standing-point, death is so no more. He never contemplates it from any standing-point of pure speculation, but simply in the light of the question, What is it to man fallen, or what is it to man saved ? In the former case, then, he can never view it either as simple dissolution, for it is something far more awful, or as simple presentation before the awful judgment-seat of the Almighty, for this does not take place but by a passing through the tomb ; here, therefore, it is always a *compound idea* : it is in the latter case only that it comes truly to be resolved by him, and that then, its sting being taken away, it is felt to have no terror for the mind. Sin and death, in short, are represented as two ideas, mutually suggesting one another ; and the latter, *in the form in which we know it*, including all its concomitants, the dissolution of the body, the mournful recollections of the past, the stings of conscience, the dread of the future, is the consequence of the former. Nor need it in the least degree surprise us that, if this be true, the κέντρον should be so often apparently the prominent idea in the θάνατος ; for to the enlightened conscience is it not so in fact ? the mere departure from this life being nothing in comparison with the thought of appearing before an angry God.

When, then, we sum up what has been thus very briefly attempted to be said, we find the whole Bible marked by the same thought and the same mode of giving expression to it. The state of man as a fallen and sinful being is comprehended under the one word ‘ Death ! ’ The idea of the word is a compound one, including all the evil of every kind under which we suffer. One particular part of this evil may be more prominently brought forward at one time than another, and the signification of the word may thus appear to vary, but this is simply because one part of the evil may have been in the course of the argument brought more prominently into view. The part is, however, still a member of the whole, suggests the whole, and gives evidence of the same truth which would have been evidenced by the mention of the whole : and this death is the consequence, the punishment of sin. When, then, we would understand the meaning of those passages in which it is spoken of, we must endeavour to keep the *compound idea*

idea in view, and not to separate it into its parts, as we commonly do, thinking, in our use of the word 'death,' upon the death of the body alone.

As a direct contrast to this are the use in Scripture of the word *ζωή*, and the relation in which man stands to it. As the one is a compound idea, so also is the other; as the one stands in the closest connection with the sin of the first Adam, so does the other stand in equally close connection with the righteousness of the second Adam. To confine the meaning of the word *ζωή* to that physical life which we enjoy, would be to deprive of its true force and meaning nearly every passage in which it occurs; even where it is connected with the epithets *αἰώνιος*, *ἀκατάλυτος*, it by no means exhausts its meaning to think only of it as a life which never ends (comp. e. g. Heb. vii. 16, where *ζωή ἀκατ.* stands in opposition to *ζωή σαρκική*). Everywhere it expresses the opposite of that which is expressed by *θάνατος*, including the ideas of a holy and a happy life, of a life superior both to the sins and the trials of the world, of that very life which is in God. Thus Christ is himself the *ζωή αἰώνιος*, the *ἡ ἀνάστασις καὶ ἡ ζωή* (1 John i. 2; John xi. 25, &c.). Thus also he that hath the Son of God hath life, and he that hath not the Son of God hath not life (1 John v. 12). And thus in the fulness of its meaning all qualifying or explanatory epithets are not unfrequently dropped, and the simple word *ζωή* stands as expressive of the nature of God, both the Father and the Son, and of that state in which man exists when brought into fellowship with the Almighty, when God dwells in him and he in God (1 John i. 2; v. 12, 16; iii. 14; Phil. ii. 16; John xi. 25; x. 10; vi. 53, &c.).

In like manner also, as the entrance of death into the world was connected with Adam's sin, so also is the entrance of life connected with the *δικαίωμα*, the *ὑπακοή* of Christ (1 Cor. xv. 22; Rom. v. 18, 19). As Adam was the head of the whole human race, and when he sinned transmitted to them both that sinfulness into which he had fallen, and that death which he had incurred, so was Christ the head of all those who are spiritually descended from him.* Thus then when we look to the human race in that light in which it appeared to the sacred writers, we behold two great divisions of it, two great states in which it exists: there are (1.) those who have no other descent but that from Adam, and (2.) those who are now descended spiritually from Christ. The state

* It is obvious that neither the *πάντες* in Rom. v. 18, nor in 1 Cor. xv. 22, need occasion the slightest difficulty. The apostle is in no way concerned with the question whether the whole human race or only a part of them shall be made alive through Christ, but simply with illustrating, by their fruits, the contrast between the nature of that relation in which Adam and Christ stand to men.

of the first is *θάνατος*, the state of the second *ζωή*. The latter *μεταβεβήκασιν ἐκ τοῦ θανάτου εἰς τὴν ζωὴν*. But this *ζωή* is in every respect the very reverse of *θάνατος*. The idea of *θάνατος* does in no degree enter into it at all; death therefore is no more for them in the least degree that in which death is *θάνατος*. Accordingly the apostles seldom use the word *θάνατος* in speaking of the death, that is, the simple dissolution of a believer; there is always something painful connected with it; but they use such terms as 'sleep' (1 Cor. xv. 51); a 'dissolution of the earthly house of this tabernacle' (2 Cor. v. 1); 'the time of departure' (2 Tim. iv. 6).

And thus looked to from this point of view, death is *already past*.

(2.) In the light in which we have hitherto considered the Scripture use of the words *θάνατος*, &c., we have had occasion to consider them as expressive of a state rather than of an act. It has appeared that for the believer there is in one sense no such thing as *θάνατος* at all. That was his condition *before he believed*, and the act of his believing was rather the act of his passing into life, *ζωοποιεῖται, μεταβίβηκε εἰς τὴν ζωὴν*. But there is another class of expressions where the idea of *θάνατος*, *ἀποθνήσκω* is predicated of man in the very act of his becoming a believer, and which when we consider them, will present to us a second point of view under which death was looked on as already passed. We have this class of expressions in such passages as Rom. vi. 2, comp. Gal. ii. 19, 1 Pet. ii. 24, Rom. vi. 11, where the verbs *ἀποθνήσκω* and *ζάω* used with the dative signify dying or living in relation to that with which they are connected.

Such passages teach us that a death takes place in us at the time when we close in true faith with the Lord Jesus Christ as our Redeemer, for it is then that the old man dies within us, and that the new man begins to live. In order to understand the mode of speaking thus employed, it is essentially necessary to bear in mind what are at least the leading features of the New Testament anthropology. Without entering here upon any lengthened examination of the ideas connected with *πνεῦμα*, *ψυχή*, *νοῦς*, *σῶμα* and *σὰρξ*, it is sufficient to remark that the sacred writings, without engaging in any investigation as to the origin of evil, constantly speak of man as a being fallen by the act of his own free will from God, and as now actually in a fallen state. Instead of now living as he once did in communion with the Almighty, in complete devotion to his will, and with every power and faculty which he possesses animated by the higher spirit which had been originally bestowed upon him, he is now alienated from the life of God; his will is not in harmony with that of God, but in opposition to it; earthly and sensual desires prevail in his heart, and though the

the traces of his higher nature remain, they are kept down and overruled by the sinful tendencies that have asserted their dominion over him. The whole of these latter taken in the mass are comprehended under the one word *σάρξ* (John iii. 6; Rom. viii. 1, 4, 9; Gal. v. 13, 17, 19; Rom. vii. 18), which is viewed as the *active* principle of evil, possessed of the *τὰ παθήματα τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν* (Rom. vii. 5; Gal. v. 24), of a *φρόνημα* (Rom. viii. 6, 7), of a *θέλημα* (Eph. ii. 3), of *ἐπιθυμίαι* (Eph. ii. 3; Gal. v. 17), of *πρόνοια* (Rom. xiii. 14), which is the fruitful parent of all bad works (Gal. v. 19), &c., and which, in short, actually renders it impossible for us to please God so long as it rules within us (Rom. viii. 8). While, however, the *σάρξ* thus rules in the natural man, so that in describing his state he may speak of himself as *σαρκικός*, there are yet traces in him of a higher and a better nature. There is the *νοῦς* which, were it only able to act apart from the influences of the flesh, would actually find a pleasure in what is beautiful and good (Rom. vii. 22); and there is even something of a *πνεῦμα* (1 Cor. ii. 11; 1 Thes. v. 23), though this last is almost always employed to mark the higher power in man after he has been enlightened by the *πνεῦμα τοῦ θεοῦ*, and is brought to live under his influence. But in man's actual state, all these traces of a higher nature are kept down by the influence of that evil principle with which he came into the world (Rom. vii. 18), and instead of serving God in a spiritual way, he is in reality the slave of sin. When, however, man is brought to Christ; when he becomes a Christian, *i. e.* when he has been brought not merely to embrace certain doctrines, but to have Christ *in him* (Col. i. 27; 2 Cor. xiii. 5), to be himself *in Christ* (2 Cor. v. 17; Gal. vi. 15); when, in short, Christ himself becomes the living power within the soul, this dominion of sin is destroyed. It is now the *πνεῦμα* instead of the *σάρξ* that rules in man, and through Christ, who implants in us that very spirit by which he himself was animated (Rom. viii. 9), we are delivered from that body of death which was formerly the prevailing power within us (Rom. vii. 24, 25).¹ For one reason more especially which we shall afterwards notice, this destruction of the *σάρξ* is spoken of as its death, not as if it were wholly killed, for our death when it dies is rather a continual dying, so long as we carry about that *σῶμα* in which it peculiarly fixes its seat (Rom. vi. 12), and it is by death therefore that even in this present world we pass into fellowship with the life of Christ: 'For ye are dead, and your life is hid with Christ in God' (Col. iii. 3).

¹ It would only confuse us to dwell on the fact that the nature even of the renewed man is not perfectly holy (Gal. v. 17). The principle by which he shall at last be made so is in him, though in this life the complete victory is not gained.

From the view of man spoken of above, flows the distinction between the *παλαιός* and the *καινός ἄνθρωπος* (Eph. iv. 22-24 ; Col. iii. 9, 10 ; 2 Cor. v. 17 ; Rom. vi. 6) ; the former referring to our state so long as sin is the ruling power in us, the latter to our state when Christ becomes so. In one aspect, accordingly, man is, both before and after the new birth has taken place within him, the same being. He is still the 'I' that he was before. He is animated, indeed, by a totally different principle, and he is leading a totally different life ; but his personal identity is preserved, and he can, whether referring to the past or to the present, speak of himself as I. In another respect, however, he is no more the same being at all ; what was the 'I' before has been altogether removed and a new person, even Christ, has taken its place. Hence we do not always find the 'I' spoken of exactly in the same way. Sometimes it is dead (Gal. ii. 20). Sometimes it is yet alive (Gal. ii. 20 ; Rom. vi. 4) ; and it is obvious that the mode of expression is simply determined by that aspect of man which the apostle has immediately before his view, whether as one who, by nature a corrupted creature, has had the death-blow given to that corruption, or as one who, by grace a new creature, is under the influence of a spiritual and heavenly life. This latter state, however, is his, only *after* he has been born again ; before, therefore, he passes into it he must die ; the 'I' that was formerly in him must die, and since viewed in the light of eternity, that must be a far more momentous change which includes in it the passing out of a state of sin, which even now is death, and whose result is death, into a state of spiritual life which never has an end (*ζωή*, or *ζωή αἰώνιος*, for the two expressions are equivalent, 1 John i. 2 ; v. 2, 4) : the term death comes, in the ardent mind of the sacred writers, and more particularly of Paul, to be associated with this destruction of the 'old man,' and therefore to the believer—the 'new man'—it is already past.

But further, this view of death being already past is presented to us in another and a most important light in various passages of the New Testament. It is obvious to every attentive reader of the New Testament that the doctrine of that intimate and close union which exists between the believer and Christ Jesus is one most frequently and strongly insisted on, and one brought for the illustration of much in the believer's character and circumstances. The man who has a true faith in Christ is not only contemplated as receiving blessings through Him, but as actually receiving Himself, and all that belongs to Him, as being made in reality and truth one with Him, so that whatever is the portion of Christ, that also is the portion of the believer. It is his portion too, *already* ; it is not something that is future only, it has been given

given already, and though it is no doubt true that the whole of it has not yet been realized by him, and will not be so until he sees Christ as he is, yet the right to what he has not is made over to him now, and will be more and more bestowed according as, in the progress of sanctification, he 'grows up into Him in all things, which is the head, even Christ.' Thus the believer is a member of Christ's body, of his flesh, and of his bones (Eph. v. 30); he with Him is a son (Gal. iv. 7), and has the same spirit of adoption whereby he cries, Abba, Father (Gal. iv. 6; Rom. viii. 9, 15); he is a partaker of Christ's sufferings (Phil. iii. 10; 1 Pet. iv. 13; Rom. viii. 17); and amidst them all he is encouraged not simply by the hope of heaven, by the belief that he is an heir of God, but by this, that he is already a joint heir with Christ (Rom. viii. 17; comp. Heb. xii. 2-4); he is crucified with him (Gal. iii. 20); is dead (Rom. vi. 8); and even buried with him (Rom. vi. 4); again he is raised with him from the grave, and by that same glory of God which raised up the Saviour himself (Rom. vi. 4; comp. Ephes. i. 19, 20), he is even now seated with him in heavenly places (Ephes. ii. 6); he shall appear with him in glory (Col. iii. 4); shall judge with him the world (1 Cor. vi. 2); and shall sit with him upon the same throne (Revel. xx. 4). It by no means brings out the full meaning of these passages to which we have referred, if we only understand by them that the birth, the life, the death, the resurrection, and the glory of Christ, are *types* of the same events in the history of the individual believer; he is spoken of as actually experiencing the same things with his Lord, so that in the strictest meaning of the words, he is a branch of the vine, and a member of the body.^s It may, perhaps, be doubted whether even our orthodox theology has adopted with sufficient clearness and comprehensiveness the mode of speaking thus referred to. In treating of justification, indeed, and of the personal substitution of Christ for sinners, it has done so; but in treating of sanctification, may it not be questioned whether it has not dwelt too much on this as a *consequence*, as a *fruit* of the former, instead of looking to it as involved in the very idea of our having any interest in him—whether the idea of union with Christ has not been too exclusively connected with his work *for* us, and too little with his work *in* us—whether the tendency of it has not been to carry the idea of substitution too short, instead of too far a way; bidding us behold in this the ground of our being justified, but thus making our sanctification too exclusively a consequence of this; whereas in the Scriptures the idea is taken onward, and the believer is viewed not only as

^s Compare Otto von Gerlach's introductory remarks to the 6th chapter of Romans.

dying

dying in Christ, but as having Christ living henceforth in him, so that with the thought of an interest in his death, the thought of realizing his life is most closely and inseparably conjoined. It is true that justification and sanctification are different in their nature, and that the one in order of time precedes the other, but it is equally undeniable that they are often brought forward in the New Testament in a far closer connection than that in which our systems of theology, or the common feelings of Christians generally place them.^h Whether, however, this be allowed to be the case or no, it is obvious, from such texts as those above quoted, that the Christian and his Lord are looked on as so intimately united to each other, that the former has a part in all that has happened or that still happens to the latter.

But Christ has died ; we also then, if interested in him, have been crucified with him, have been buried with him by baptism unto death ; the old man dies in us, we therefore may be said ourselves to die. But Christ has also risen ; we also then are raised with him again, and the new man, even Christ himself, begins to live in us. Even though dead then we yet live : but as it is not we that live but Christ that liveth in us, so, partakers of his eternal life, we can never die, for he having died once dieth no more. Hence the apostle's language in Col. iii. 3, where he so shortly and emphatically describes the position of the believer, ' ye are dead and your life is hid with Christ in God,' that is, strictly speaking, not ye are dead to the world, ye are dead to sin, &c., though the text might be well enough thus illustrated, but the old man is dead within you, ye have passed beyond your act of death, and as you are now risen with Christ (ver. 4), all we can say of you is, you live, and live with a life that can no more change, with Christ's own life, a life that is hid in God. Hence accordingly such passages as Phil. i. 21 ; Rom. vi. 8-10 ; xiv. 7-9 ; viii. 10-17 ; Gal. ii. 20 ; Col. iii. 3-4 ; ii. 12 ; 2 Cor. v. 13-16 ; 1 Thes. v. 9-10.

It is not therefore a matter of surprise that the Christian should have his thoughts, when his faith is lively—for in proportion to the liveliness of his faith will be his sense of having been enabled to appropriate Christ and all his blessings—much more directed to the life which he enjoys than to the death which he must meet ;

^h See, e. g., Rom. viii., a chapter in which, were this sufficiently borne in mind, the apostle would not be so often considered as treating of justification. In this point of view Heb. x. 14 is very expressive. The whole connection of the passage (see especially ver. 1-11) compels us to understand *τετελειωκεν* of justification. Who, then, are they who are justified ? They are not described, as in other passages (Rom. iv. 5 ; v. 6), as the *οἱ ἄσεβεῖς*, but as the *οἱ ἁγιαζόμενοι* ; by which the apostle certainly does not mean to place sanctification, or even an effort after it, before justification, but by which he only indicates such a closeness between the two, that they who are justified are also sanctified. The same principle may be brought to the explanation of 1 Cor. vi. 11.

that

that the fear and the sting of death should be taken away (Heb. ii. 15 ; 1 Cor. xv. 55) ; that he should feel that death is his (1 Cor. iii. 22 ; comp. Rom. viii. 38) ; and that even in death itself he will not die. Christ liveth evermore, and as his proper 'I' is one with Christ, he must live with him.

II. There is yet another point of view from which this matter may be looked to, and to that we would now advert for a moment.

Even when we consider death simply in the light of dissolution, the thought of it as something standing before the followers of Christ seems to have been often supplanted by the thought of the coming of the Lord again to the world. It is not our intention to enter at present on the *questio vexata* of the ideas which the apostles entertained as to the time when this *παρουσία* was to take place, nor is it necessary to do so. There is a sufficient body of evidence to justify the conclusion that they cannot be confidently said to have expected it in their own lifetime ; but even though they did not expect it then, it was yet so prominently before them as the great object of their hope and expectation that death was in a great measure unthought of. He whom they had so fondly loved while he was in the world was to return to the world again—he was to come not in humiliation, but in glory—with his coming were to be associated the destruction of his enemies, the establishment of his own righteous kingdom—the heart that sighed now over the thought of sin, whether in itself or in the world, should then sigh no more—the Church, which, like its Divine master, was now despised and persecuted, should then triumph over all its adversaries—the glowing anticipations of the Prophets should then be literally fulfilled—and even creation itself, now subject to vanity, should then be delivered and made free—how was it possible that the thought of such a season should not occupy their minds to an extent and with a power that would lead them away from the thought of death ? Let us realize to ourselves the same anticipations, and we shall still find that in the same measure as we realize them the thought of death fades from our view. Is this the future that is in store for the world ?—is this the future that we ourselves shall see ?—shall it really be that the fondest expectations of our souls shall be fulfilled ?—that little as that faith of Christ which we believe, which we know to be divine, has yet prevailed in the world, a bright day shall dawn for it, and the period of its full triumph come ?—shall sin yet be completely rooted out of our own hearts—yet be completely banished from the world ?—and shall that earth, which even now retains so many traces of its primæval beauty, put on in expectation of its Lord, 'like a maid, her jewels, and, like a bride, her attire ?'—and, above all, are we
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in ignorance of the time when this blessed change shall happen, may it be in a century, in a year, while we ourselves yet live?—and we ask any one whether, in contemplating this prospect, death does not depart entirely from his view, and whether he has any other language with which to answer the declaration of Christ, ‘Behold, I come quickly,’ than that of the Apostle, ‘Amen, even so come, Lord Jesus.’

Now it is undeniable that this thought of Christ’s coming was in the days of the Apostles much more before the mind of the Church than it is now. We do not ask was it so rightly or not; it is enough for us that such was the fact. Every epistle teems with allusions to it. It is thought of for instruction, for warning, for comfort, and we are not aware of one single passage where with the happy ease of modern interpretation it is spoken of as a periphrasis for death—it was constantly and intently dwelt upon as something literally to come to pass—and this all taking place at a time when faith in Jesus was so lively, and love to him so warm, it is not to be wondered at that death was disregarded. The contemplation of the future was closed in by the prospect of Christ’s coming again; and if the believer thought, this is the great rule of humanity, ‘it is appointed unto all men once to die, and after death the judgment,’ he thought immediately again, the case is now altered for me, for ‘unto them that look for him shall he appear the second time without sin unto salvation’ (Heb. ix. 27, 28).

Such then is the view with which the Scriptures present us of our present condition and our future prospects. It is impossible to say that it is not one of importance, or one not pregnant with results of the greatest moment for our state of feeling and for our daily practice. How many are the fears of death which even the believer has; what a dark tinge does it give to the future when before him he sees so constantly the coldness and corruption of the tomb—while, on the other hand, how much more animating the thought, I never die, I have life in Christ, and that life lasts for ever; death is now to me but a step in my onward progress,—not that which unclothes me, but rather that which clothes me with a glorious immortality. How much more would the Christian, realizing this thought, be led to live above the world than he often does. How emphatic would the exhortation of Paul then become to him: ‘Seek the things which are above, where Christ sitteth at the right hand of God, for thou art dead, and thy life is hid with Christ in God.’ His life is not now mere physical life, not life in the world; it is in Christ; must he not then live less to the former, and more to the latter? Above all, it would make him think more of the Saviour; we should have fewer in the Church

who, turning their bread to ashes in their mouth, nourish themselves by what they change to a dead theology, instead of being nourished by a living Lord; and feeling more that Christ was living in us, we should fill more the position which he calls on us to fill; 'as he was, so also should we be in the world.'

PROFESSOR VON EWALD ON DR. SAMUEL LEE'S ACCUSATIONS.

To the Editor of the Journal of Sacred Literature.

MY DEAR SIR,—I request you to give Professor Von Ewald's answer to Dr. Lee a place in the Journal, as the most fitting means of securing so small a document from oblivion and obscurity; and I venture—for the sake of those who discern that much more important interests are involved in this strife than anything merely personal to those engaged in it, and who may wish to follow the course of the discussion—to preface his letter by a brief summary of the incidents which have led to it.

It was in the Preface to his Hebrew Grammar of 1841, pp. 11—15, that Dr. Lee first publicly, and at some length, accused Professor Von Ewald of having appropriated some of his discoveries on the nature of the tenses, and on the use of the accents. A copy of this Grammar, bearing on its title the date of 1844, was shown to Professor Von Ewald, in June, 1845, and he thought it due, both to himself and to the cause of sound biblical philology, to rebut these dishonouring imputations. He wrote his Reply in the same month, and entrusted it to me to publish it in England, where the accusation was made, and where alone anybody could be found capable of believing it. I designed this Reply to accompany a work on which I was then engaged; but, as circumstances caused me to postpone the publication of that work, the Reply was deferred by the fate of its companion. During this interval of delay, I accidentally saw the March number of the *Churchman's Monthly Review* for 1847, and there found that Dr. Lee, while engaged in controversy with some one else, again renewed his charge of plagiarism, and asserted that Professor Von Ewald had 'pillaged him.' This circumstance was the means by which the long-delayed Reply was at last published in the May number of the *Churchman's Review* for the same year. The Reply, which incidentally discusses some of the most important problems of Hebrew grammar, aimed at establishing two points: first, at declaring the author's most unequivocal and solemn denial of his having appropriated, or of his even having had the opportunity of appropriating, any of Dr. Lee's discoveries; and secondly, at demonstrating that, even in the views which he is accused of pillaging, he differs most essentially from Dr. Lee. I soon learned, from Dr. Lee's own announcement in the *Churchman's Review*, that he purposed publishing an answer to the Reply; but, in spite of all
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my solicitude to learn the fact of its appearance, it was not until the 6th of January of this present year, that I was able to ascertain that he had put forth *An Examination of the Grammatical Principles of Professor Von Ewald*; also, of the *Defence of himself against the Charge of certain Plagiarisms*, by Samuel Lee, D.D., 1847 (Seeleys, 126 pp.). It was not until the 10th of the same month that I could dispatch a copy of this pamphlet to Professor Von Ewald; and the receipt of it has elicited from him the following short answer. When your readers are apprised that, notwithstanding Professor Von Ewald's explicit and earnest asseverations to the contrary, the 'Examination' teems with every insulting repetition of the charges of 'purlaining,' they will, doubtless, admit that no man of honour could possibly condescend to prolong a personal controversy on such unequal terms.

JOHN NICHOLSON.

Inglewood House, Penrith, Feb. 12, 1849.

LETTER BY PROFESSOR VON EWALD.

I have only just received the pamphlet which the Rev. Dr. Samuel Lee, late Regius Professor of Hebrew in the University of Cambridge, published against me, in England, as long ago as the year 1847; and I consider it utterly unnecessary to reply to him in the manner which I formerly adopted. But I hope that all those who have followed the course of this controversy on the science of the Hebrew language (a controversy which Dr. Lee began, and not I), and who have read the papers concerning it in the *Churchman's Monthly Review* for 1847, will hold me perfectly excusable when I now assert, in reference to the new proofs of Dr. Lee's character as a scholar and as a man:—

1. That, as a teacher of Hebrew, he understands nothing of that language, since every pupil in a German gymnasium, who intends to visit the University as a theological student, knows infinitely more of it than he does.
2. That he possesses only an exceedingly mediocre, uncertain, and inexact knowledge of those Semitic languages which are, comparatively speaking, much easier to understand thoroughly—such as Arabic, Syriac, and Ethiopic; and that he does not correctly apprehend even a single line of Sanscrit, which he likewise pretends to know.
3. That he neither knows, nor is able to conceive, what science—i. e. the art and certainty of human knowledge—is.
4. But that, as a man also (as, to my great regret, I must now declare before all the scholars of England and America), he neither possesses honour, nor a love of honour, since he is not ashamed, in spite of my remonstrance, to re-assert the most scandalous untruths with aggravated effrontery, and even to increase their number manifold; as if lies could be made into truths, by being reiterated a thousand times, and by being garnished with new fabrications.

I entirely overlook the circumstance of his accusing me of neology and heresy: for, were he to aim at understanding what neology and heresy

heresy are at all, and especially what they are in our time, he would first be obliged to acquire a much more profound knowledge of the Bible than he now possesses. No Christian, however, should so conduct himself as—either by his speaking, or even by his keeping silence—to extend the kingdom of falsehood, uncertainty, and ignorance.

H. EWALD.

Göttingen, Feb. 2, 1849.

MR. PORTER'S REPLY TO DR. DAVIDSON'S CHARGE OF PLAGIARISM.

HAD Dr. Davidson in his Review of my *Principles of Textual Criticism*, inserted in the last number of the *Journal of Sacred Literature*, pointed out the faults of my work, showing where it is incorrect, wherein it is defective, and how it might be improved, I should have felt grateful to him for the trouble taken in exposing my errors. Or had he contented himself with accusing me, as he has done, of ignorance, self-sufficiency, presumption, &c., I should have left the readers of the *Journal of Sacred Literature* to form their own judgment of the accusation from the manifest spirit of the accuser; but when these charges are followed up by a distinct imputation of *plagiarism*, I feel that I ought not to be silent: and I respectfully claim from the Editor permission to defend my personal and literary character in the Journal which has circulated the attack.

The charge is conveyed in the following terms:—

'In parting with our author, we merely suggest whether it might not have been more generous to have acknowledged his obligations to Horne's *Introduction* and Davidson's *Lectures on Biblical Criticism*. *The plan and purpose of his volume coincide with those of the latter work*, although no one would think, from Mr. Porter's preface, that a work similar in design to his had ever been issued from the English press. "It would," says he, "have been every way more desirable had a scholar well accomplished in these branches of learning, assumed to himself the task which I have here attempted; but having waited for years in vain to see such a work as the present from some abler pen, I have thought it better to offer my own contribution to the science of theology than to linger in the expectation of seeing that performed by others which no other seemed willing to undertake." This language is in harmony with the very liberal use of the first pronoun throughout the volume, as well as with the writer's adventurous manner. *That he has borrowed from the work in question with all its mistakes, it would be easy to show, but it is not needful.* The volume before us is at least twenty years behind the present state of the science. We praise the author for his laudable attempt. We commend him for his great diligence and labour. We thank him for the beautiful fac-similes he has furnished. He possesses creditable learning and respectable ability, but his self-sufficiency is scarcely compatible with the character of the true scholar, much less with the real value of the present work. *He must pardon us for saying that there are still a few scholars in Great Britain who could produce a much better and more correct work than his*, and we are not without hopes that some of them may soon be induced to publish a volume which will give a fair view of the science of criticism as far as it has truly advanced. This cannot be done except by a thorough German scholar, and it is highly presumptuous in any other to attempt it.'

In this extract I have marked a few passages in italics; to which I wish

wish to direct the reader's attention and my own. The last of them, '*He must pardon us for saying,*' &c., implies that I claim to be, of British scholars, the one best qualified for producing a work on Textual Criticism : but have I not expressly asserted the reverse in my preface ? nay, in the very sentence which Dr. Davidson quotes from it in proof of my self-sufficiency ? It is true that I have intimated my ignorance of any work in English, *similar to my own, and calculated to be equally useful to the student* ; but as Dr. Davidson only *hopes* that a better book than mine may hereafter see the light, it may be presumed that he, too, is unaware of the existence of any other, at present in print, which can be ranked as superior to mine. Of course I am acquainted with several English books treating of the same subject, but some of the ablest of them are too old to be of much use ; others only discuss one portion of the science, and several are so disfigured by an inconvenient and illogical arrangement, inconsistent and self-contradictory statements, glaring inaccuracies even in the translation of easy Latin sentences, and the clumsy introduction of irrelevant topics, that they rank far below the hand-books employed by the students of other sciences. In these respects I think I have made some improvement, but as in the prosecution of my task I have been compelled to speak of versions of the Scriptures in the Egyptian, Æthiopic, Armenian, Georgian, Slavonic, Mæso-Gothic, Anglo-Saxon, and Persic languages, with which I am entirely unacquainted, I have expressed, and now reiterate my regret, that no scholar, 'well accomplished in *these branches of learning,*' has hitherto undertaken the task which I have attempted. But if this ignorance of mine disqualifies me for the duty which I have undertaken, it ought to have acted as a barrier against the publication of Dr. Davidson's *Lectures* ; for I observe that in his *Appendix*, p. 394, he, too, confesses his unacquaintance with these languages. As to the German, with which he conjectures that I am unacquainted ('*Perhaps the writer does not know German*'), I beg to state that I have read in that language several of the works mentioned in the Review, and some others not there enumerated, though I have not thought it proper to parade before my readers a number of names of writers whom few among them ever would have an opportunity of consulting. It may be that the style of my preface abounds too much in the use of 'the first pronoun,' but this can hardly be avoided when a writer has to explain his own motives, unless he be disposed to diversify his language, as Dr. Davidson has done, by the employment of *two* pronouns referring to himself in one and the same paragraph. '*The author originally intended, &c. He formed the purpose of publishing, &c. I have neither aimed at making them copious nor meagre,*' &c., *Preface to Lectures*, p. iii. iv. Why should a writer who can appropriate *two* personal pronouns at once envy me the modest and necessary use of *one* ?

But all these are matters of little moment when compared with the charge of having incurred 'obligations' which I have not acknowledged, both to Dr. Davidson himself and to Mr. Horne.

Of Mr. Horne's work I have repeatedly spoken, and always with a degree

degree of courtesy of which Dr. D. in the Appendix to his *Lectures* has not set me an example: I refer the readers of my book to pp. 66, 156, 277, 360, 396, 496, 498, &c. I have also referred more than once to Dr. Davidson's *Lectures*, chiefly, indeed, by way of caution against some of those erroneous statements which he now admits that they contain, but yet in such a manner as to show that I attached some degree of importance to his work. But beyond this *I am under no obligations to it*, and the implied or asserted charge of plagiarism from it is totally unfounded.

Dr. Davidson insinuates that I have borrowed his '*plan*,' but that this accusation is groundless will be apparent from a glance even at the *Contents* of our respective volumes. Mine professes to treat on the Science of Textual Criticism, as applicable to the Sacred Scriptures, and to that one subject it is confined. Dr. Davidson also professes to write on Biblical Criticism '*in its strict and proper sense*, as comprising the sum and substance of that knowledge which enables us to ascertain the genuineness of a disputed reading, to remove a spurious one from the text of the Holy Scriptures, and to attain as nearly as possible the original words written by the inspired authors.' But yet he occupies six Lectures out of twenty-six, or 117 pages out of 369, with matters which seem to have little concern with this object; such as the Divisions in the Hebrew Text of the Old Testament and the Greek of the New; the Origin, Genius, and History of the Hebrew Language; the Nature, History, and Syntax of the New Testament Greek; the various Forms of the Hebrew Alphabet; the theological import of the Greek Article; and the Original Language of St. Matthew's Gospel. These may be very important and useful subjects, but I have not thought it necessary to give more than a passing glance at such of them as have a bearing on the proper object of my volume. In this respect I have followed my own plan, not his.

Neither does my plan '*coincide*' with his, in the treatment of those topics which are common to his *Lectures* and my *Principles*. For example: in his 2nd Lecture he says all that he says anywhere on the *Biblical Manuscripts*: grouping together in one and the same discourse, the *Hebrew MSS.* of the Old Testament, and the *Greek MSS.* of the New: the *Synagogue Rolls*, the *Indian Pentateuch*, the *Evangelistaria*, the *Praxapostoli*, &c., &c. In like manner he considers the *Versions of the Scriptures*, without separating for distinct consideration those which belong to the two portions of the sacred volume: hence we have, *first*, the LXX. and the other Greek Versions of the Hexapla (Old Testament), then the Syriac Peshito (Old and New Testament), then the Harclean, Philoxenian, and Palæstino-Syriac Versions (New Testament), next the Versio Græca Veneta (Old Testament), the Samaritan Version of the Pentateuch (Old Testament), the Arabic Versions (Old and New Testament), the Persian Versions (Old and New Testament), the Latin Translations (Old and New Testament), the Egyptian Versions (New Testament), the Ethiopic (New Testament), the Slavonic (New Testament), the Gothic (New Testament), the Armenian (New Testament), and the list ends with the Targums

(Old

(Old Testament). This may be a very good plan, but most unquestionably I have not followed it, and therefore have thus far no obligation to acknowledge to its author. In the very same manner the subject of *Biblical Citations* is treated by Dr. Davidson; here we have quotations from the Greek Fathers, the Latin Fathers, and the Jewish Rabbis all presented to us in one Lecture. Next comes a discourse on Critical Conjecture; then a consideration of Disputed Passages in the New Testament in the following singular order; viz., 1 John ver. 7; 1 Tim. iii. 16; John vii. 52; viii. 11; Acts xx. 28; Matt. vi. 13; i. 1; ii. *fin.*; Luke i. 1; ii. *fin.*; Mark xvi. 9-20; Luke xxii. 43, 44; John ver. 3, 4. After the learner has been taught to decide on the reading of these passages, by the application of arguments both internal and external, we have a Lecture on the Causes of Various Readings; and last of all we have a Lecture on the History of the Text of the Old Testament, and another on that of the New.

This is Dr. Davidson's plan; mine he affirms *coincides* with it: I affirm that *it is totally different*. In proof of this, I am under the necessity of recapitulating its leading outlines. The work is divided into three Books, according to what seems the natural arrangement of the subject. The *First* treats of the Object, Necessity, and General Principles of the Science of Criticism; the Critical Aids for ascertaining the Text (MSS., Versions, &c.), and their Value; Causes of Various Readings; and the Rules of Internal Evidence thence deduced. The *Second* Book relates to the Old Testament, giving a History of the Text; an Account of the Hebrew MSS. of the Bible; the Versions of the Old Testament; the Citations from the Hebrew Text, &c.; and ends with an examination of fifteen passages (given in the order of the books and chapters), in which the present reading has been questioned. The *Third* Book considers the subject with reference to the New Testament, the topics being discussed in the same order; except that I have judged it proper to enter here more fully upon the examination of Recension Theories than was needful in the preceding book. In this division I have criticised twelve passages, beginning with Matt. i. 1; ii. *fin.*; and ending with 1 John ver. 7. Let any intelligent man compare these two plans together, and then judge of the credit due to Dr. Davidson's assertion, that *mine coincides* with *his*, and that it would have been 'more generous' in me 'to have acknowledged my obligations' to him in this particular.

I am not arguing the superiority of my plan; but I affirm that it is *essentially my own*. Most indubitably *it is not his*; nay, it is as unlike to his in everything that constitutes the usefulness or merit of a plan, as it is possible to conceive.

Equally unwarranted is his assertion that I have 'borrowed' from his Lectures 'with all their mistakes.' This statement I beg to contradict in the strongest manner that is consistent with my own character and position in society. Dr. Davidson says it would be easy to prove the charge; I defy him to do so, he can no longer deem it needless. I declare that I have not copied a line from him, nor accepted a single fact or a single argument on his authority. Let him attempt to make good

good his charge, and if he will only place in parallel columns the passages of my book on which he relies as proofs of it, and those of his own from which he conceives that I have borrowed, I am mistaken if he do not himself see the desperate nature of the task he has undertaken.

It may be expected that I should here notice the mistakes which he says may often be found in perusing my volume. No man is less disposed than I am to question the existence of such mistakes. Some of these he has pointed out to me, and I thank him for it: *Lelong* is certainly a mistake, the name should have been written as he gives it, *Le Long*. I acknowledge an error in saying that Aristéas *calls himself* captain of Ptolemy's guard; and I think it probable that the error may have arisen from confounding together (as Dr. Davidson suggests) the two names of Andreas and Aristéas; but the mistake is older than the time of Jerome, to whom he assigns it: if he looks to the Second Book of Josephus against Apion, § 4, p. 1064, he will find the same interpretation. *Adler* for *Alter*, p. 111, is an error of the press or of the pen. My interpretation of the term *Oriental* as used by Lachmann is unquestionably erroneous; but it is not peculiar to me: in fact I believe I held it in common with almost all British theologians till the appearance of Mr. Tregelles' admirable *Prospectus for a New Critical Greek Testament*, with which, I lament to say, I was unacquainted till after the publication of my book, but which would have saved me from this error, and others too, had I known it sooner.

Dr. Davidson has enumerated among my mistakes some opinions which I have expressed on points of criticism different from his own views; such as the antiquity of the Targums, the number of persons engaged in translating the Peshito version, the identity of the Nazarene Gospel, translated by Jerome from the Hebrew, with the Hebrew original of our canonical Gospel by St. Matthew; and other matters of a similar nature. He seems to think I must be wrong because I differ from him, or rather from certain German writers whose views he himself adopts. I cannot see the force of this inference, much less can I see that I am to be precluded from offering, in a proper and truly critical spirit, my own opinion, though different from his and theirs, upon these and similar points. I have endeavoured to qualify myself for forming an independent judgment on these questions, and have taken a good deal of pains to form a correct one. Are British theologians to withhold their sentiments in deference to continental scholars who may be of a different way of thinking? Is no sound to be uttered or heard among us but the mere echo of voices beyond the Rhine? Are we to wait, before daring to express our thoughts, until permission to utter them shall have arrived from Prussia or Saxony? Are the Germans themselves perfectly of one mind on these and similar points? I believe it would not be difficult to array in opposition to Dr. Davidson's chosen list of authorities, another German legion, outnumbering those whom he has named, in the proportion of two to one on every question; men too, whose literary qualification no one could affect to disregard. I am willing to avail myself of this difference of opinion among our proposed masters, as a warrant for exercising my own freedom of thought. Let me see the Germans first united firmly among themselves in their critical

critical judgments, it will then be time enough for me to think of suppressing my deliberately formed sentiments out of deference to German theology.

Some things which Dr. Davidson has inserted in his list of my mistakes, are mere omissions unavoidable in a work which only professes to give in a moderate compass *the most important principles and the main facts* of the science. Had I judged it proper to extend my limits, very many authors, theories and criticisms would have been canvassed, which a regard to brevity has compelled me to exclude. *Under these circumstances an omission is no mistake.* I can truly say that omissions have frequently caused me both inconvenience and regret; but it was needful to be brief; and even so, my work extends more than a hundred pages beyond the limits originally intended. In one or two instances, Dr. Davidson, in his zeal for pointing out errors of mine, has himself committed very palpable mistakes. Of this kind is his assertion that Masch's edition of Le Long's *Bibliotheca Sacra* consists of only *four* volumes;* and his attempted correction of my translation of a passage in St. Augustine de *Conjugiis Adulterinis*, betrays an ignorance of Latin syntax which must not a little astonish the Germans, if it falls into their hands.^b

I must add that I conceive Dr. Davidson is completely wrong in

* It consists of six volumes, published at different times, each with its own title-page, date, preface, and table of contents or index: in some cases both. It is divided into two very unequal parts. Part I. consists of one volume, Halæ, 1778, pp. 466. Part II. is in several volumes: vol. i. (1781), pp. 226; vol. ii. (same year), pp. 352; vol. iii. (1783), pp. 352. Two years afterwards (1785) appeared another volume; which, however, because it only carried farther down the account of the Latin versions, which had been commenced in vol. iii., the learned editor has only called *Partis Secunda Volumen Tertium Continuatum*. It has, however, its own title-page, date, and preface, like its predecessors; and therefore is, to all intents and purposes, a volume. It consists of 484 pages. The last volume appeared in 1790: it consists of 192 pages. I suppose Dr. Davidson has glanced at the title-page of this volume, and, seeing the words *Volumen Quartum*, ventured to contradict my statement without further examination: but if he had looked to the line above, he would have seen *Partis Secunda Volumen Quartum et Ultimum*. This may seem of little consequence; but I wish to let it be seen that I did not recommend this work without having carefully studied it. Dr. Davidson's remark seems to imply that I had not even seen it.

^b The whole passage reads as follows:—'Nunc autem, postquam Christus ait adulteræ, "*Nec ego te condemnabo; vade; deinceps noli peccare,*" quis non intelligat debere ignoscere maritum quod videt ignovisse Dominum amorum, nec jam se debere adulteram dicere, cujus pœnitentis crimen divinâ credit miseratione deletum? Sed hoc, videlicet, infidelium sensus exhorret; ita ut nonnulli modicæ vel potius inimici veræ fidei, credo metuentes peccandi impunitatem dari mulieribus suis, illud quod de Adulteræ indulgentiâ Dominus fecit, auferrent de codicibus suis: quasi permissionem peccandi tribuerit qui dixit, "*Deinceps noli peccare:*" aut ideo non debuerit mulier a medico Deo illius peccati remissione sanari. ne offenderentur insani.'—*Opp.*, tom. vi. col. 858, ed. Bas. 1556. The words in Italics I have thus paraphrased in English:—'So that some men of weak faith, or rather enemies of the true faith, fearing (as I suppose) lest impunity in sin might be granted to their own wives, took away from their MSS. the act of our Lord in forgiving the adulteress: as if he had granted free licence to sin by saying "*Go sin no more.*"' 'But,' says Dr. D., 'Augustine does not say that the paragraph was really ejected from the Greek MSS. for the reason he assigns. He conjectures that some persons of weak faith, &c., might have expunged it from their copies (*auferrent*), &c.'—'What would Zumpt say to this translation?' Would it not make him stare and rub his eyes?

affirming that Lachmann's usage of the term *Oriental* coincides with that of Griesbach. I know of no passage in which Griesbach so employs it.

Dr. Davidson therefore has not been extremely successful in his search after the mistakes which indubitably my book contains. If I durst so far intrude upon your limits, I could state a few which have escaped his notice, but have occurred to myself on a reperusal, or have been suggested by learned friends and correspondents.

For these errors and omissions, I have to crave the pardon of all the purchasers of my book, as I have to apologise to you for the length of this communication. I by no means imagine that I have exhausted the lists of my oversights; and beg to assure all who are interested in such inquiries, that notwithstanding my alleged 'self-sufficiency,' 'adventurousness,' and 'presumption,' I shall feel grateful for the trouble which any such person may take in pointing out my errors, either in the usual channels of literary information, or by letter to myself.

J. SCOTT PORTER.

Belfast College, 22nd February, 1849.

CITATIONS FROM THE OLD TESTAMENT IN THE NEW.

To the Editor of the Journal of Sacred Literature.

SIR—In the fourth number of your valuable Journal an article appears under the above title, in which the author endeavours to prove that many of the quotations from the Old Testament which appear in the New, have no *direct reference*, in the original passages, to those particular events or things in reference to which they are quoted by the New Testament writers.

It is admitted in said article that in some instances there may be a remote or distant reference to the point in regard to which the text is quoted, though there is another and a primary meaning before the mind of the original writer; and this is accounted for by supposing a *double sense* in prophecy. In others, it is maintained there is no reference at all in the original passage to the point about which the New Testament writer is treating when he quotes the passage, but that it is quoted merely in the way of *accommodation*; that is, the words suiting his purpose, they are brought forward without any regard to the meaning the original writer intended to convey by them; that is, the writers of the New Testament quote texts from the Old Testament in reference to subjects to which these texts have no reference, and to prove points they never were intended to prove, and consequently cannot prove.

Nothing can be of more importance than a proper understanding of the sacred volume, and anything tending to throw light on its heaven-revealed pages ought to be hailed and prized as of the greatest value. Perhaps nothing can tend to open up the Scriptures more fully and satisfactorily than a correct understanding of the connection that
subsists

subsists between the Old and the New Testaments. To understand the prophecies of the one, with the fulfilment or comments made upon them in the other, cannot fail to throw a flood of light upon that blessed book, where the glorious Jehovah has revealed his mind in reference to a world of sinners and their salvation.

On reading the article referred to, I could not help asking, Can such views of Scripture as are held forth there produce this effect? Can they enhance our estimation of the word of God, or open up before our minds more fully and clearly its glorious and saving truths?

May I be allowed, Sir, to say, with all due respect for the author of the article in question, that it appears to me a negative answer must be given to these questions:—

1. Do not such views tend in a great degree to obscure Scripture? Admit the principle contended for in the article, and we can be sure of nothing we find within the boards of the Bible. We thus would have an apostle quoting a passage in a totally different sense, and with a totally different object in view, from the prophet who first penned it. Both cannot be right; which are we to follow? If the original writer be correct, then the other must be wrong; and, to say the least, we have language without a meaning—mere words without a reality—and sound without sense. Upon this principle it would be impossible to follow out the reasoning and arguments of the New Testament writers; the passages they quote come in as a dark cloud, and obscure the subjects on which they are discoursing. We are irresistibly led to look at the meaning of the original writer, and here we find another subject altogether; our minds must become bewildered, and we cannot follow. Thus a passage of Scripture would mean one thing in the Old Testament, and another thing in the New—one thing in the mouth of a prophet, and another thing in the mouth of an apostle. If there be thus a disagreement between prophet and apostle, can we be sure that there is agreement between prophet and prophet, or between apostle and apostle? I apprehend not; and thus confusion and obscurity are thrown into the word of God, 'we are completely out at sea amid its contents; we cannot read because it is sealed.'

2. Can such views fail to shake the confidence of men in the truth and faithfulness of Scripture? Suppose any other writer were to adopt such a mode in reference to the subject of which he was treating, what confidence could be placed in him? Who could credit his writings, or esteem either him or his works? Certain authors are quoted in order to corroborate or prove the point in hand; but on turning up to these authors themselves, we find he uses their language in a totally different sense from that in which they use it, or it may be with a meaning the very opposite. What confidence could any one have in the writings of such a man? Suppose the subject to be the divinity of Jesus; the writer quotes certain authors, but on turning up their works we find that the language quoted has no reference to such a subject; or it may be these authors are Unitarian, and in such language they are attempting to prove the very opposite of the writer who quotes it! Take infant baptism, or any other subject, and let this mode be pursued, and at once the book must be thrown aside;

we can have no confidence in it. Now if the writers of the New Testament adopt the same mode, can we have more confidence in them? Suppose the subject is salvation by simple belief of the Gospel, the writer appeals to the Old Testament for proof; but on turning up the passage quoted, we find it has not the most distant reference to this matter, but is simply an exhortation to obedience given to the Jews: or suppose the subject is the universal proclamation of the Gospel by the apostles, again the Old Testament is appealed to; but on turning up the passage quoted, we find no reference to this at all, the writer is discoursing of the works of nature! We must at once lose confidence in the writer, so far as these points are concerned; and if on these points, can we have full confidence in regard to any point?

3. Do not such views militate against the inspiration of the Scriptures? We can easily conceive that, through ignorance, misapprehension, or design, erring and fallible man might thus misapply the writings of another; but can this be done by the Holy Spirit? We must ever keep in mind that, in the quotations referred to, it is not one writer quoting the language of another merely, but the Holy Spirit quoting his own words: the writers are merely the instruments through which his mind is conveyed. Surely, then, the God of wisdom and of truth, in bringing forward his own statements, knows exactly how and where and why such and such statements are most suitable. I fear, however, it would be difficult to establish the inspiration of the whole Scriptures upon the principle contended for in the article in question. We find the apostle quoting the words of the Spirit in a totally different sense from what the Spirit intended; thus wresting them from their true and proper meaning. The question will naturally occur, Are these men inspired? If a negative answer be not given, then it may lead to something as bad. It does appear to be an awful trifling with the word of God; and if the apostles quoted Scripture in this way, may not uninspired and even profane men quote Scripture to suit any purpose, and be guiltless?

4. Will the texts brought forward by the writer of the article bear him out in his views?

The only or principal text put forth in support of the double sense of prophecy, is the one quoted in Heb. i. 5, supposed to be, in the original passage, a promise in regard to Solomon, with some distant reference to Jesus. That such language was used in a promise given in regard to Solomon is certain, and that Solomon applied the passage where it occurs to himself is no less certain, but does this shut us up to the belief that there was no such prophecy made with *direct* reference to Jesus? I think not. In the 22nd and 28th chapters of 1st Chron. we find David declaring that such a promise had been given him by God in reference to Solomon; but it does not appear that this is the same given by God to Nathan the prophet (2 Sam. vii., and 1 Chron. xvii.), and quoted by the apostle in his epistle to the Hebrews. 1. In this prophecy the name of Solomon is never mentioned; it is simply, 'I will set up thy seed, which shall proceed out of thy bowels' (2 Sam. vii. 12); 'I will raise up thy seed after thee, which

which shall be of thy sons' (1 Chron. xvii. 11). There is something in the language that leads us to look farther than Solomon; why not directly to Jesus? 2. The seed here mentioned was to be raised up 'when the days of David were expired, and he would sleep with his fathers.' Solomon was raised up and actually placed upon the throne before this took place. This again looks farther than Solomon; why not directly to Jesus? 3. The seed here mentioned was to be 'established in the house and kingdom of God for ever;' and the promise is made *absolutely* and *unconditionally*. This cannot apply to Solomon; why then not directly to Jesus? 4. The blessings promised to the people, under the reign of the seed here mentioned, are of such a nature as show them to be *gospel* blessings, and which were not bestowed in the days of Solomon (see 2 Sam. vii. 10, and 1 Chron. xvii. 9); why not then directly to Jesus? 5. To this view of the passage there is a very strong objection, founded on the words 'if he commit iniquity,' &c.; Jesus being sinless: but can the words not bear another rendering? In the original we have the relative pronoun and the infinitive of the verb with prefix and suffix (אֲשֶׁר בְּהִיעוֹתוֹ), which may be rendered, 'He who committeth sin I will chastise,' &c., 'but my mercy shall not depart from him' (the seed mentioned); drawing a contrast between the treatment Jesus would receive and those who committed sin. We see nothing here to prevent a *direct application* to Jesus, and view the apostle as quoting the passage in the same sense as it occurs in the original, and without any intermediate sense. In like manner I conceive the passage in Isa. vii. has direct reference to Jesus, and to Jesus alone. The virgin mentioned can be none other than the virgin mother of our Lord, and the Immanuel none other than our Lord himself. There may be difficulties, but still I have no doubt these difficulties may be satisfactorily cleared away, and the reference seen to be to them alone, without any intermediate persons.

In reference to the accommodative system two passages are mentioned, both quoted in Rom. x. The first of these texts occurs in Deut. xxx. 11-14: the apostle quotes it to show the ease by which any sinner may obtain salvation by faith in the Gospel, having already shown the impossibility of obtaining it by the works of the law. Is this the same meaning that Moses intended to be conveyed in the original passage? does it prove the apostle's point? We think that this is the meaning Moses had distinctly in view, and that it does most clearly prove the point intended by the apostle. In this passage Moses is treating with the people of Israel concerning their *return* to God after their *departure* from him, and through that departure had been carried away into strange lands. Now *how* could they return? by *what way* were they to return? The law made no provision for this. They could return only through faith in the mediation and propitiation of the Lord Jesus, as typified and set forth in the sacrifices: and Moses tells them that this mode of returning to God had been so fully made known to them, and was so easily attained, they might reach it *wherever* they were, it was so near them that it may have been said to be in their mouth and in their heart, &c. This is the very thing the

the apostle is proving. There is, then, no mere accommodation of language here.

The other passage is quoted from Psalm xix., and the apostle is proving by it that all men have heard the Gospel. Such, too, is exactly the meaning in the original passage; 'the heavens declare the glory of the Lord, and the firmament sheweth his handy-work: day unto day uttereth speech, and night unto night sheweth knowledge. There is no speech nor language where their voice is not heard. Their line is gone through all the earth, and their words to the end of the world.' To whom do these works of God declare his glory? To all men surely. In what sense do they declare his glory? In this, among others, that he is a God of love, a God of love to sinful men, and consequently a propitiated God; for no blessing can descend upon man but through the propitiation of Jesus. What is this but the Gospel proclaimed to all men? the very thing the apostle is proving. There is no mere accommodation of language here.

In support of this system of accommodation the writer of the article lays great stress upon two quotations, as proving his point clearly and distinctly. The first is a saying of our Lord, quoted by the evangelist John, in reference to the preservation of the disciples at the time Jesus was seized for trial and crucifixion. In looking to the saying as it originally occurs in John xvii., we find—1. That it is spoken with reference to the apostles directly. Jesus seems to have them in view, and them alone. 2. It is spoken in reference to his leaving the world and leaving them in it. 3. It is spoken in reference to those evils which would happen to them from the hatred of the world. 4. It is spoken in reference to his presence preserving them from many of these evils while he remained with them; and so gracious and powerful had been that preservation, that he had lost none of those given to him (as apostles) but the Son of Perdition, who was, at the time the saying was uttered, subjecting himself to evils far greater than could happen to his faithful disciples from all the persecutions of the world. Surely, then, the evangelist is correct when he applies this saying to the last act of Jesus, when parting from his disciples, in securing their preservation. Surely there is more than the mere accommodation of language here.

The other passage occurs in Matt. viii. 17, quoted from Isa. liii. 4. The New Testament writer takes the words in the original passage rendered 'griefs' and 'sorrows,' and applies them to the temporal 'infirmities' and 'sicknesses' which afflicted the people; and refers the 'bearing' them and 'carrying' of them to the removing of them by the miraculous power of Jesus. Now the question is, have the words in the original passage such a meaning? The proper meaning of the *אָנָה*, rendered 'grief,' is *sickness* or *disease*, and is so rendered in various passages: the proper meaning of *כְּאִוִּב*, rendered 'sorrow,' is *pain*, and that of pain of mind or sorrow is only a secondary and figurative meaning. The verbs *נָשָׂא*, to 'lift up,' and *קָבַל*, to 'bear' or 'carry,' may properly be applied to the removing of those 'diseases' and 'pains' spoken of, lifting them up, and

and bearing them away, in other words, removing them by his power. Thus we see that the passage, as it occurs in Isaiah, has the very meaning which the Evangelist gives it; and there is more than mere accommodation of language when he quotes it.

A word on one passage more, namely, that occurring in Gal. iv. regarding Sarah and Hagar. 1. The part of Scripture here referred to by the apostle contains no prophecy nor abstract statement of truth; it is simply the history of certain persons. 2. The apostle brings it forward merely as an *illustration* of the point of which he was treating. Having mentioned the two sons of Abraham and the manner of their birth, he adds, 'which things are said allegorically' (*ἅτινά ἐστιν ἀλληγορούμενα*), said by himself, that is, Paul allegorizes these things. 3. There is thus a great difference in the original passage here from the others referred to (being a simple history of the persons mentioned), and a great difference in the mode of referring to it (Paul telling us, by way of caution, that he allegorized the things mentioned). And thus there is no need to suppose that the Spirit of God, in relating the history, meant us to understand the two Covenants, in regard to which Paul allegorizes it.

The subject altogether being of vast importance, it certainly would be a great boon were some of your learned contributors to take it up more fully.

DAVID DRUMMOND.

Wick, December, 1848.

REV. W. ROBINSON ON THE HISTORICAL CHARACTER OF THE FIRST OF GENESIS.

To the Editor of the Journal of Sacred Literature.

SIR,—An article from the pen of the Rev. Baden Powell, inserted in your number for October last, contained the following sentences:—

'No competently informed person at the present day, I should have thought, could be ignorant that the now firmly established inductive truths of geology entirely overthrow the *historical* character of the narrative of the six days, and by consequence that respecting the seventh along with it. I need not here press this point further as I have already in other places gone fully into the subject.'

In a note the reader is referred to a work of Mr. Powell's *On the Connexion of Natural and Divine Truth*, and to the article 'Creation' in the *Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature*. The former I have no opportunity of consulting: the latter I have turned to in the expectation of finding a clear statement of the weighty reasons which, alone, it might well be thought, could lead the Reverend Professor to the momentous conclusions he does not hesitate to publish.

In the *Cyclopædia*, as in your October Journal, Mr. Powell writes with a confidence which appears to me to be in mournful contrast with the evidence he adduces. Indeed, he seems to have been led (perhaps unconsciously) to make up for the slenderness of his proofs by the most surpassing hardihood of assertion.

'The

'The narrative, then, of six periods of creation, followed by a seventh similar period of rest and blessing * * * clearly cannot be regarded as an *historical* statement,' &c. 'As to the particular form in which the descriptive narrative is conveyed, we merely affirm that it *cannot be history—it may be poetry.*'—vol. i. p. 486.

For decisions thus given on one of the most serious questions that can occupy the mind of man, I can find but two distinctly stated reasons. The first is thus explained:—

'We come next to those Scriptural representations of the Creation, which are more precise and circumstantial. Of these the earliest in order of time is that stated to have been announced by the divine voice from Mount Sinai, in the delivery of the law to the Israelites (Exod. xx. 11),^a where the entire and complete work of creation is described as carried on and ended in six days. The description pointedly applies to the *whole* universe,' &c.

The second reason is as follows, containing, as the reader will perceive, a reference to different interpretations of the narrative which Mr. P. had noticed in an earlier part of the article:—

'We fail to perceive how those interpretations can be supported * * * since the main points of the discrepancy remain untouched, viz. that there are no traces of any such catastrophe as must be supposed, even over a limited portion of the earth's surface, subsequent to the latest tertiary formation.'—p. 484.

Discarding, on other and sufficient grounds, the theory which would explain the days of creation as long intervals of time, Mr. Powell is here arguing against the historical character of the record on the supposition that natural days are meant. He maintains that such a catastrophe as the 1st chapter of Genesis implies, occurring since the completion of the tertiary formation, must have left its traces, and as these traces do not appear, he denies the truth of the narration.

I beg leave to ask Mr. Powell four questions:—

First. Inasmuch as in 'the Mosaic history' the writer defines the word Heaven (see Gen. i. 8) as meaning the firmament which divides the waters from the waters—by what authority does Mr. Powell affirm that the phrase 'heaven and earth' pointedly applies to the *whole* universe? Or, in other words—As Moses has been at pains to give the exact sense in which he used the word heaven, why does Mr. Powell assume that in a precisely similar connection he used it in a sense wholly different?

Secondly. Mr. Powell says there are no traces of any such catastrophe as must (*i. e.* if the Mosaic narrative be true) have occurred since the latest tertiary formation. I presume he does not mean to affirm positively that no such traces are in existence, but that none have been at present detected; which is equivalent to saying that geology does not at present confirm, in this particular point, the Mosaic history. Why does Mr. Powell represent the absence of confirmation, as 'discrepancy'?

Thirdly. Will Mr. Powell be kind enough to inform me what catas-

^a 'In six days the Lord made heaven and earth, the sea, and all that in them is, and rested the seventh day.'

trophe

trophe *must* have occurred since the latest tertiary formation, if the Mosaic narrative be veritable history? I make this request because it seems quite as likely that Mr. Powell should not understand that History, as that the History should be a fable.

Fourthly. Will Mr. Powell inform us whether he has any other reasons to adduce?

There are probably many of your readers who, while courting free inquiry as much as Mr. Powell, are nevertheless persuaded that the record of Moses is a veritable description of appearances such as Mr. Powell would have witnessed had he been on the earth's surface from the first to the seventh day of time—readers who having mourned over the passage in your October number as alike unphilosophical and irreligious, will be glad to have the subject re-opened in your pages.^b

W. ROBINSON.

Kettering, Jan. 15, 1849.

* * We regard with much pleasure the weight and variety of the *Correspondence* embodied in the present Number of the Journal. It evinces that its readers are at length inclined to avail themselves of the invitation which was at the outset extended to them—to discuss and examine the subjects set forth in these pages. Now that the work comprehends a considerable body of printed matter, we may expect that this branch of our Correspondence will maintain the ground it has taken; but there is another branch of equal importance, not likely in the same degree to be sustained by external stimulus, and therefore more in danger of falling to the ground—this is, the suggestion or proposition of subjects, and of questions of doubt or difficulty, deemed by the writer to demand inquiry or solution. The reader who looks once more at the Introductory Article to this Journal will understand our meaning; and we earnestly invite the co-operation of our Correspondents in the objects there set forth, from which it seems to us that much good may result.

For the rest, and in answer to the kind inquiries of many friends, we can still express a strong hope that a publication which is thus gradually but surely feeling its way to the results its founder contemplated, will be enabled to maintain its existence; but to ensure this result, the exertions of its friends are still as much needed as ever, and should not on any account be relaxed. There is a point from which, when once reached, the Journal may be expected to proceed by its own momentum; but the necessary momentum has *not yet* been imparted to it; and until this is done, we must entreat the many earnest friends of the undertaking to be mindful how much depends, under the Divine blessing, upon their exertions.

^b To this we see no objection; but should rather indeed like to see *both* sides of the question adequately and fully discussed.—EDITOR.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

The Ministry of John the Baptist, and the Baptism and Temptation of the Lord Jesus Christ; an Exegetical Essay upon the three first Gospels. By the Rev. EDGAR HUXTABLE, B.A. London, Parker, 1848. 8vo. pp. 95.

THIS small volume is avowedly sent forth by the author as a specimen of the principles of interpretation which he has 'long aimed to direct upon the Evangelical narrative in general.' This being the case, we have looked with care to the *spirit* of the proposed investigation, to determine the degree in which it may be entitled to an encouragement. The result is satisfactory; and we are glad to be enabled to attest that, as the writer hopes, the results here noted down 'have not been pursued without a strong sense of the awful and mysterious nature of the subjects upon which they have been directed;' and that if in any point the author has erred, 'the error has not been the result of irreverence or unbelief, or animated by any self-willed love of peculiarity.' On this ground, as well as from the substantial learning and competency evinced in this Essay, we sincerely trust that the result of its publication will be sufficiently encouraging to justify that more extended work for which Mr. Huxtable states that he has been accumulating and preparing materials.

The present Essay is, as the reader will collect, an exegetical commentary upon the statements in the three Gospels upon the subjects mentioned in the title-page. These subjects are synoptically handled, that is, all the particulars given in the three Gospels are brought together to form the text of the comment. This mode of treating the three synoptical Gospels is now generally seen to be the most advantageous for students, and will, we may expect, be commonly followed in all future commentaries on the Gospels, though it may not be practicable in commentaries on the New Testament at large.

It appears that Mr. Huxtable is fully able to avail himself of the labours of German scholars, and to them he is indebted for much valuable matter; while the information afforded by the researches of travellers, naturalists, and antiquarians, is sought out with diligence and produced with good effect.

In his first chapter, on the Ministry of John the Baptist, the author notes that—

'The term "*kingdom of heaven*," which is the form always found in Matthew, and in him alone, or the equivalent term "*kingdom of God*," which we find employed in its stead—St. Mark and St. Luke—does not occur in the Old Testament, but there can be but little doubt but that it was drawn from the representation given in the book of Daniel of the Fifth Monarchy there foretold as about to arise. The language employed by the prophet was naturally such as to suggest such an appellation,

lation, in distinction from the *kingdom of Babylon*, the *kingdom of Persia*, the *kingdom of Greece*, and the *kingdom of Rome* (Dan. ii. 44). *In the days of these kings shall the God of Heaven set up a kingdom which shall never be destroyed* (cf. also Dan. vii. 14-27). This is the most concrete form in which that sovereignty is represented which in the prophecies of the Old Testament is so often assigned to God the king of Israel, reigning through the Christ.

Some space is given to the consideration of John's baptism, as distinguished from that of the Jewish baptisms. Our author regards as unsatisfactory the evidence for the *anterior* existence of the Jewish usage of the baptism of proselytes as a symbol of their admission into the theocracy; but if it was practised so early, the evidence shows that it was regarded as a rite of ceremonial lustration, nor is there anything to render it probable that this proselyte baptism differed from the baptisms of the Law in one very important point in which the baptism of John as well as that ordained by our Lord did differ from them; 'in the baptisms by the Law, which were performed in the normal mode of immersion, the baptism was gone through by the man himself, who was there under the process of purification, and was not administered to him by another. It was only in those abnormal baptisms in which the purificatory element (*e. g.* blood, or water mixed with ashes) was not plentiful enough, or otherwise improper to be employed for immersion, that the rite was administered by another, who was, I believe, also a priest; whereas the baptism of John, as well as that ordained by Christ, was administered by another.

'In these two respects then the baptism of John appears to differ from those enjoined by the Law: first, the latter were used as means of purification from ceremonial defilement, which the baptism of John was not; and, secondly, the baptism of John was administered by John (or some other divinely commissioned person), and not performed by the candidates themselves. To these we must add, as a third distinguishing feature, that whereas those baptisms were repeated upon the occasion of renewed defilement, this as well as Christian baptism was undergone only once. These three features justify us in regarding the baptism of John as an entirely new rite.'

Further on (p. 41) we get at the author's views as to the difference between the baptism of John and that of Christ. He thinks that 'the baptism of John sealed the forgiveness of sins to every true penitent who underwent it; but it was not, like Christian baptism, endued with the power of renewing the soul, or of sealing to it such grace as should cleanse or spiritualize. It was in this respect a baptism of water only, *unto repentance*, as St. Matthew adds; it was not a *regeneration of water and of the Spirit*, such as our Lord intimated to Nicodemus was the character of his baptism (John iii. 15). Its actual purifying power therefore reached no further than the body;—John baptized with water only.'

On the 'Baptism with the Holy Ghost *and with fire*,' which has engaged the ingenuity and learning of our own contributors, our author holds the general opinion that the words '*and with fire*' are used to qualify and illustrate the words '*the Holy Ghost*,' but he sees objections to the common interpretations of the precise drift and bearing of

the words. The explanation which he does give is interesting. 'A comparison of the four Evangelists, in the passages in which they severally quote this declaration of the Prophet, brings to light a circumstance which appears to point out the way to the true explanation of its meaning. In St. Mark (i. 8) and St. John (i. 33) the words *and with fire* are wanting; and with them are also wanting the words, which both in St. Matthew (iii. 12) and in St. Luke (iii. 17), who have *and with fire*, follow immediately after. The same observation applies to Acts i. 5. This naturally leads us to look to the verse which follows in St. Matthew and St. Luke as likely to furnish us with the true interpretation of these words which in these Gospels precede it. Now this verse states that a discrimination was to be exercised upon the substances lying on the threshing-floor, according to which the true Israelites, the *wheat*, were to be gathered into the garner, and the false, the *chaff*, were to be burnt up with unquenchable fire. And, it may further be observed, this discrimination is called a *thorough cleansing of the floor*. Now the *gathering of the wheat into the garner* closely corresponds to the *baptism with the Holy Spirit*. It is difficult then not to believe that the *burning up the chaff with unquenchable fire* corresponds to the *baptism with fire*, and this explains it.'

This *burning up of the chaff*, which Mr. Huxtable regards as answering to the *baptism with fire*, has not, he considers, reference to the suffering of hell; for, as Olshausen remarks, baptism always has reference to salvation; but is rather to be understood as expressing the purifying change to be effected in God's Israel—the thorough cleansing of the floor, whereby the Christ, the head of Israel, would transform its character, either by the renewing grace of the Holy Spirit on such as would obey him, or by the consuming fires of his wrath upon such as refused his grace. In the latter case, the term baptize relates, not to those in particular who would perish under his anger, but rather to the whole Israel of which they formed part, but which was thus to be purified by fire as well as by the Holy Ghost.

In regard to that difficult subject, the Baptism of Jesus by John, the author sees that John's baptism was, among other things, significant of initiation into an economy (so to speak) preparatory to that of the kingdom of God. It was fitting therefore, he reverently supposes, that the divine Jesus should enter this preparatory economy as well as others; since, though ministering therein as the Christ, he yet was to minister in a condition preparatory to that in which he was afterwards, as the exalted Prince and Saviour, to reign. At the same time it was so ordered that while thus entering that economy with others, he should enter it in a manner which sufficiently marked his own relation both to the economy itself and also to other men. The following further remarks on the same subject are striking:—

'Neither was baptism, regarded as the symbol of purification, altogether irrelevant even in the case of the holy Jesus. For though, in the case of men in general, it expressed the cleansing away of sin, in which respect it was inapplicable to Him, being wholly without sin, yet viewed in relation to his work it had its propriety. Our blessed Lord had hitherto passed his life amid secular engagements; for from the question of the Nazarenes, recorded Mark vi. 3, *Is not this the carpenter?*

carpenter? it is clear that he had himself carried on the business of his reputed father. He had thus, and in other ways as a fellow-inhabitant of the town, been mingled with the people of Nazareth in the various engagements of social life—labouring, and selling and buying, and taking part in the offices and intercourse of neighbourhood. In short, he had been completely assimilated to his sinful brethren (except in their sins), associated and blended with them. But now he was about to assume the Divine functions of the Lord's Christ; if we may venture thus to apply the language which St. Paul has used with reference to his actual death, He was *to die unto sin that he might live unto God* (Rom. vi. 10). It therefore seems fitting that such a transition should be accompanied by his passing through a rite which so graphically expressed purification; in which, in his instance, it was set forth that he washed himself clean of worldly associations, and came forth pure and entire as the Christ of God.'

In respect of the descent of the Holy Ghost upon the baptized Christ, our author is led to conclude that the appearance was visible only to our Lord and the Baptist, 'in consequence of a supernatural unveiling of their organs of perception,' an expression liable, perhaps, to some exception, as applied to our Lord himself. It appears also to him that the addition which St. Luke, in the words in a corporeal form (*σωματικῶ εἶδεν ὥσεί περιστεράν*), makes to the account of St. Matthew and St. Mark, who simply record that the Holy Ghost was seen descending *like a dove*, 'determines the comparison as referring not merely to the proverbial swiftness of the dove's flight (Ps. lv. 5; Isa. lx. 8), or to any waving or other kind of motion attributable to that bird, but to the form in which the Holy Ghost displayed Its descent upon the Redeemer.'

The chapter on the Temptation of our Lord will be interesting to the class of persons likely to desire possession of the work. We abstain from entering into its details, as we expect to have occasion to discuss the whole subject very fully ere long. It may suffice to state that, with some hesitation, Mr. Huxtable sets forth the view 'that subjectively the temptation had a twofold purpose; partly, more fully to develop to the human consciousness of our Blessed Redeemer what the nature of his stupendous work on our behalf was to be, by vividly exhibiting the form into which the Evil One would fain have warped and perverted it; and partly to arm His holy soul against those conflicts of which this temptation was, as Bengel says, a specimen, and which throughout his earthly course were to be continually reproduced in his path.'

Reasons why a New Edition of the Peschito, or Ancient Syriac Version of the Old Testament, should be published with Variæ Lectiones from Ancient M.S.s. and Editions. By J. Rogers, M.A., Canon Residentiary of Exeter Cathedral. Oxford and London, J. H. Parker, 1848. 8vo.

Within the last few years, through the munificence of the present Duke of Northumberland, the Duke of Bedford, the Earl of Ellesmere, and other distinguished persons, a most valuable collection of ancient Syriac manuscripts, from the Monastery of St. Mary Deipara in the Nitrian Desert in Egypt, has been secured by the Trustees of the British

British Museum; which National Library may now be said to contain the most valuable collection of Syriac manuscripts in the world. When these manuscripts are added to those preserved in the libraries at Oxford and Cambridge, it will be obvious that there now are in this country peculiar facilities for publishing a new edition of the Old Testament, in the *Peschito*, or ancient Syriac Version. That version was executed from the Hebrew original, certainly not later than the second century, if not at the close of the first. Dr. Kennicott remarks that, being very literal and very ancient, it is of inestimable value.

The lovers of sacred literature are much indebted to Mr. Rogers for his instructive and well-written tract, which is addressed, by permission, to the Archbishop of Canterbury. The author has given a concise critical notice of the *Peschito*, or ancient Syriac Version of the Old Testament; and he has forcibly urged various reasons for undertaking a new critical edition of it. These reasons are supported by numerous examples. Mr. R. concludes then in the following terms:—

‘We want a new edition from the earliest copies of the Syriac Old Testament—

‘First, because we have no printed text from ancient and approved MSS.

‘Secondly, because the Latin Version in Walton’s *Polyglott* often fails to convey the sense of the Syriac.

‘Thirdly, because there are many omissions in the printed text, which may, perhaps, be supplied on a collation of early MSS.

‘Fourthly, because the facilities now given to the study of Hebrew make it desirable that new facilities should also be given to the study of the cognate languages.

‘Fifthly, because it is useless to accumulate ancient and valuable Biblical MSS. at the British Museum, if those MSS. are not applied to the purposes of sacred criticism.

‘Sixthly, because on comparing the Syriac with the Hebrew original, many points of important and interesting investigation will arise.

‘Finally, because it is neither creditable to the literary character of the age, nor to the theological position of the Church of England, that one of our most ancient versions of the Bible should continue in its present neglected state.’ (pp. 27, 28.)

In an appendix the learned author satisfactorily obviates some objections which had been urged in a contemporary journal against the utility of the important work proposed, and the feasibility of accomplishing it. With regard to the particular objection, ‘that no clergyman can afford to give himself up single-handed to such a work,’ Mr. Rogers gives the following information, which our readers, we are sure, will peruse with much satisfaction. ‘There is a clergyman, fully competent to the task, ready at once to undertake the work. The zeal and energy of the Rev. W. Cureton have induced him to offer to become the editor of a new edition of the old Syriac Version; and measures are now in progress, to which I cannot at present more distinctly refer, for the accomplishment of the work’ (p. 34). By the kindness of a correspondent we are enabled to state, that the ‘measures’ referred to by Mr. Rogers have been determined upon. The delegates of the University Press at Oxford, who have already rendered eminent services to sacred literature, by printing Dr. Kennicott’s

nicott's edition of the Hebrew Bible with various readings, and Drs. Holmes's and Parsons' edition of the Septuagint Version, also with various readings, have agreed to publish the Syriac Pentateuch from the earliest manuscripts. The edition is to be superintended by the Rev. William Cureton, one of the librarians of the British Museum, whose long-announced critical edition of the Syriac Version of the three genuine epistles of Ignatius (to Polycarp, the Ephesians, and the Romans), we are happy to state, is nearly completed at press. Mr. Cureton (we understand) proposes to take the Syriac text of the books of Genesis and Exodus, in particular, from a manuscript of the very early date of A.D. 464.

T. H. H.

A Biblical Cyclopædia, or Dictionary of Eastern Antiquities, Geography, Natural History, Sacred Annals and Biography, Theology and Biblical Literature, Illustrative of the Old and New Testaments. Edited by the Rev. John Eadie, LL.D., Professor of Biblical Literature to the United Presbyterian Church, and Minister of the United Presbyterian Congregation, Courbridge St., Glasgow. With Maps and Pictorial Illustrations drawn from the most authentic sources. London, 1849. Crown 8vo. pp. viii. and 588.

This work is *based* on the *Union Bible Dictionary*, published in America. Dr. Eadie has expanded the plan of that work into a volume three times the size, in which the general information needed by readers of the Bible is given in a correct and lucid form.

Dr. Eadie is so well known as a successful labourer in the field of Biblical learning, that his name alone would have been a high recommendation of the volume before us; but had it appeared anonymously, it would, we doubt not, have earned for itself a high reputation.

The plan and arrangement of the work is clearly stated in the preface. It is not so much intended for the *learned world* as for Bible readers in general: it does not pretend to compete with Kitto's *Cyclopædia*, or works of a similar kind; but we may say that we believe it to be a volume admirably calculated to promote a taste for Biblical study, and thus to introduce the reader to the examination of every point, almost, connected with Biblical inquiry. The *results* of investigation are here presented in a convenient form.

Authorities of almost every kind have been consulted; but in so doing the respected editor (or we might say *author*) has exercised a sound Christian discrimination. He has 'taken care to introduce nothing in point of faith or doctrine, which is opposed to the cardinal truths "which are most surely believed among us."'

We cannot profess to have read every part of a volume which has but just left the press; we can, however, say that we have looked over every page, and throughout there are proofs of the writer's reverence for the word of God and sound and diligent scholarship.

The latest geographical discoveries which bear on the Scripture (*e. g.*, the recent survey of the Dead Sea) are introduced into these

pages;

pages; indeed it may be said that this volume presents, in a concentrated form, the *results* of all recent investigation of those subjects which bear a collateral relation to the word of God.

The Egyptian discoveries which have resulted from Dr. Young's *Key to the Hieroglyphics* are treated in this work in a manner which both simplifies the subject and manifests its importance; we may refer to the account given of Dr. Young's discovery from examining the Rosetta stone (art. WRITING) as one in which the author has happily combined conciseness of statement with fulness of information.

S. P. T.

Thoughts on the Character and History of Nehemiah. By the Rev. Henry Woodward, A.M. Hatchards, London, 1849. 12mo. pp. 109.

This is a good book so far as it goes, intended for plain readers rather than for scholars, and not written with any remarkable force or spirit. The reflections are, however, pious and useful, and occasionally striking. The work consists of nine chapters, of which the first six appeared in the pages of the *Christian Observer*. The survey of Nehemiah's character does not extend beyond the contents of the first chapter of Nehemiah's book. In fact the author loses his way, and appears to have altered and left unfinished the design with which he commenced. Of Nehemiah very little is said except in the first third of the book. If the plan indicated in the first three chapters had been carried out, a very interesting and not too bulky volume might have been produced. But in the fourth, fifth, and sixth chapters, the contrast which Nehemiah's thoughts presented to his outward circumstances at court, leads the author into a long and varied excursion as to 'man's inward world,' &c., in which the name of Nehemiah does not once occur. When we meet with him again at the beginning of the seventh chapter, his secret prayer 'to the God of heaven' gives Mr. Woodward a fresh start—chiefly upon prayer, which carries him to the end of his book, or rather to its close, for this is one of those books without an end—which ought only to be set forth when the death of the writer precludes the hope of completion, and then but rarely. In other cases it may fairly be assumed that a work in the execution of which the author himself broke down, or went astray, is not likely in its incomplete state to be very attractive to readers. Upon the whole, we are constrained to pronounce this work a failure as regards 'the Character and History of Nehemiah;' but not without interest and value regarded as a set of discourses on the first chapter of Nehemiah.

* * * The extent of the Correspondence, and press of other matter in this number of the Journal, compel the postponement of Reviews and Notices of a considerable number of books, especially in Apocalyptical literature.

BIBLICAL INTELLIGENCE.

THE Rev. Eli Smith, in a recent letter from Beirut, states that there is in that neighbourhood a man possessed of much skill in preserving the skins of birds, by whose means persons interested in the natural history of the Holy Land might easily form a very complete collection of the birds of Syria at a small cost. We apprehend that Mr. Smith would himself readily facilitate communication with the native of whom he speaks; and we earnestly hope that some of our readers will avail themselves of the advantage thus afforded. It is stated that the specimens will cost from eighteenpence to two shillings each; so that for a few pounds one may become possessed of the actual birds of the Bible and Palestine.

The Editor's (Professor Rödiger) preface to the fifteenth edition of Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar, issued about a year since, is too characteristic of the man and of the time to be overlooked:—'In the midst of the pressure of great political events, in which, unquestionably, the day of freedom for our German Father-land dawns, I do not find an inclination to multiply words, in order to introduce a scientific work, completed under the roof of a dull, peaceful repose, to a public absorbed with higher struggles and cares. I content myself with saying that, in this new revision of a book, whose usefulness has been sufficiently proved by the rapid exhaustion of an extraordinarily large edition in the form which I gave it, I have been at the pains to make it more worthy of the favourable reception it has found.'

Those of our readers who, like ourselves, have kept their copies of Gesenius' great work, the Hebrew Thesaurus, long unbound for the concluding portion, which the author left incomplete, but which has been long expected from Professor Rödiger, will rejoice to hear that it is now actually in the press. The habit among German scholars of beginning to publish in early life works which they do not finish till old age, or then perhaps die, leaving them incomplete, may be suited to German habits of mind, but suits little with English impatience—which expects an author to have nearly if not quite completed his design by the time he begins to publish. But then in Germany men rely upon seeing a work of any importance brought to a close eventually, however long it may be protracted; whereas in this country we should have small faith in the ultimate completion of any work which has been kept in hand twenty or thirty years. Besides, the English seldom like to commence receiving a work which they can only hope that their children may see completed—whereas our German friends seem in general well satisfied to commence an expenditure, the full advantage of which can only be realized by their posterity in 'the next ages.' There is much to be said on both sides: but it is certain that the prevalent idea among ourselves—that we are collecting books for mere individual solace, and that all interest in that collection ceases at our death, when it will probably go to the nearest book-auction room, and be advertised as 'the property of the late ———, removed for sale from ———,' is in this country an awful discouragement to book-collecting, and to the book trade. It is true there may be a son: 'But who knoweth whether he will be a wise man or a fool?'—wise enough to enter with true love and appreciation upon the heritage of his father's books; or fool enough to send them to the book-monger for the sake of the small amount of filthy lucre they may produce. The very great disproportion in this country between the prices at which books must be bought and may be sold, is also a sore discouragement to this kind of scholarly investment. This may exist in Germany—but not to the same degree as here. We have at this moment in view a gentleman who, having no family, invested all the surplus of his income in the purchase of books, and in the course of years formed a collection of rare, curious, and valuable works in divers languages, at the cost of about 18,000*l*. Altered circumstances led to the disposal of this collection by auction, and the utmost amount that it realized was 1600*l*.!

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An account of the American Expedition to the Dead Sea by Lieutenants Lynch and Dale, is announced for publication at New York, in two volumes.

That interesting Institution, the American Oriental Society, has just completed the first volume of its proceedings.

It is announced that Sir George Staunton has 'just ready' a new work, 'On the proper mode of rendering the word God in translating the Holy Scriptures into the Chinese Language,' with examination of the various opinions on this important subject, especially with reference to its influence upon the diffusion of Christianity in China.

It is said that the *Jefferson Papers*, to be published in America by order of Congress, contain, besides political and diplomatic correspondence, &c., also treatises on religious subjects, particularly a Commentary on the Life and Character of the Apostle Paul.

A new Hebrew elementary work, entitled *Schul-grammatik der Ebräischer Sprache, enthaltend die Wort- und Formenlehre, &c.*, bearbeitet von H. Goldstein (Breslau, 1848, pp. 168), is highly commended in Jahn's Jahrbücher for its adaptation to practical uses.

Among the books announced for publication by Mr. John W. Parker, we notice a translation of Guericke's *Christian Archaeology*, by the Rev. A. J. W. Morison, M.A.; and *The Earth's Antiquity in Harmony with the Mosaic Record of Creation*, by the Rev. James Gray, M.A.; and a translation of Neander's *Julian the Apostate*, by George Vincent Cox, M.A.

In the United States a Prospectus has been issued of a translation of Tholuck's 'Hours of Christian Devotion,' by the Rev. William Hall, of New York.

'The Life and Epistles of St. Paul,' edited by the Rev. J. W. Conybeare and the Rev. J. S. Howson, is to form two volumes 4to, richly illustrated with steel and wood engravings, from drawings by W. H. Bartlett. It will appear in monthly parts, and its publication will commence shortly.

The Rev. J. Taylor has in the press 'Meditations from the Fathers of the First Five Centuries, arranged as Devotional Exercises on the Book of Common Prayer.'

The *Allgemeine Repertorium für die Theologische Literatur* has occasionally a useful article stating the contents of its contemporary theological publications in Germany; and it has been suggested that it would be acceptable to many of our readers that we should give the contents of the principal American quarterly theological journals. We are enabled to do this but partially at present, but shall give our attention to the subject in future numbers; and we may extend this operation to the German periodicals (at least so far as regards the more important articles), if such should appear to be the wish of our readers. Even those who are not able to read these articles in the original, may like to know the sort of subjects which engage the attention of our Teutonic kindred.

The *Bibliotheca Sacra* for February has a larger proportion of articles not original than usual. The first article is a curious comparison between Demosthenes and Massillon, in which it is given for consideration whether the qualities praised in Demosthenes may not be advantageously transferred to the field of sacred eloquence, and whether it is not the duty of every pulpit orator to strive to acquire them. The second article is a translation from De Wette's Commentary on the 15th Chapter of the First Epistle to the Corinthians, under the title *Doctrine of the Resurrection of the Dead*. The third is *On the Natural Proofs of the Immortality of the Soul*, by Professor Chace. The fourth is a translation from the French of Cuvier on the *Deluges of Ogyges and Deucalion*, inquiring whether they were real and specific events, or the altered traditions of a universal deluge; the conclusion is in favour of the latter alternative. The fifth has no relation to theology, but is an interesting article by Professor Robbins on the Greek Drama. The sixth is on *The Spirit of a Scholar*, by Professor Brown. The seventh is composed substantially of a reprint from Joshua Sprigge's *Anglia Rediviva*, published in London in 1647, under the title of *English Puritanism in the time of the Commonwealth*. The eighth

eighth is a review by Professor Smith of Dörner's *History of the Doctrine of the Person of Christ*. The ninth and last is a good paper, by the accomplished editor, Professor Edwards, of *Remarks on certain erroneous Methods and Principles of Biblical Criticism*.

The last Nos. of the *Biblical Repository* and the *Princeton Review* have not come to hand; but the *Methodist Quarterly Review* for January has, among its other articles, papers on *The Lord's Day*, *The Christian Sabbath: What is the meaning of SIN?* and others on Channing, on Edward Irving, and on Thomas Carlyle, whose writings appear to be regarded with far more interest in the United States than even in this country. This publication, like most of the others, has a large proportion of articles on topics not pertaining to sacred literature.

Dr. Wetstein, formerly tutor in the University of Berlin, has been sent out as Prussian Consul to Syria. His residence will in the first instance be at Beirut, and subsequently at Damascus. Dr. Schultz, who has for several years occupied the post of Consul at Jerusalem, with much advantage to topographical and antiquarian researches respecting that city, has been in Italy for the benefit of his health, and has lately returned to Berlin.

The *Journal of Oriental Literature*, published at Bonn, has lately issued the second part of its seventh volume, and with that the periodical closes. The editor, Professor Lassen, will transfer his services to the *Journal of the German Oriental Society*, which will thus become the central organ for Oriental students in Germany.

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- Aitchison (Rev. D.)—*Strictures on the Duke of Argyll's Essay on the Ecclesiastical History of Scotland*, in a Letter to His Grace. 8vo. pp. 112.
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